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The Shape of Things

IN THE HULLABALOO OVER MR. TRUMAN'S choice of language there seems to be a tendency to gloss over the more serious aspect of his brush with Drew Pearson. With his misguided sense of personal loyalty, the President has warned that "any s. o. b. who thinks he can cause anyone of these people [his appointees] to be discharged by me, by some smart-aleck statement over the air or in the paper, he has got another think coming." The pillars of the Republic will probably stand up under the naughty initials and the worse grammar, but it is just as well to remind Mr. Truman that the Constitution grants immunity from criticism neither to him nor his aides. General Vaughan's token acceptance of a decoration from dictator Perón was certainly open to question, even if a technique has been established for skirting the law in such matters. Pearson may have attached more importance to the episode than it deserved, but his remarks were within the realm of fair comment. The President appears to think that his appointments are between him and the Lord, that no protest from a mere citizen can have any bearing on a subordinate's retention, though we all pay his salary, and that, in any case, Mr. Truman will "never go back on a friend." In short, once installed by the President, the surest way to permanent tenure is to draw the fire of a Pearson or a Winchell. At the risk of having our ancestry questioned in the White House, we suggest that Harry get down from his high horse. His characteristic humility becomes him better.

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HOMER BIGART'S SERIES ON SPAIN IN THE New York *Herald Tribune* will long stand as an example of independent first-hand journalism. His detailed description of Franco's "police state" is an open challenge to the idealized picture drawn by Senator Gurney, James Farley, and other recent American visitors, not forgetting Cardinal Spellman, who at the end of the war returned from his Spanish trip full of praise and benedictions. Since the Cardinal has received such generous support among the Protestant clergy in his denunciation of the Hungarian government's condemnation of Cardinal Mindszenty, we have a right to expect that he will reciprocate by publicly denouncing Franco's repressive measures against the Protestant sects—which still claim the adherence of the majority of Americans.

"Under the Falangist government the Spanish Protestant," writes Mr. Bigart, "is a second-class citizen." And he adds: "The Protestant clergyman in Spain suffers much the same type of persecution as the Roman Catholic clergy endure in Communist Hungary." If Franco Spain is, on the testimony of the *Herald Tribune* correspondent, a totalitarian regime built on a fascist foundation, it is also a "poor ally in event of war." The armed services have obsolete equipment, good roads are lacking, and the whole country is on the verge of bankruptcy. According to the conservative Banco Urquijo, at least \$777,000,000 is needed to restore economic health. A no more optimistic account is given in another remarkable article by Ernest O. Hauser in last week's issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. On the basis of all this recent American information it should be difficult for friends of the Spanish dictator in Washington to sell Americans the idea of sacrificing decency and dollars to save the bankrupt little Hitler or invite him into the United Nations. ✱

SEVERAL DEATH SENTENCES DICTATED BY Franco in the last few days complete the story of the two American writers. Spanish Republican headquarters in Paris have cabled us as follows: "Taking advantage of recent railroad catastrophe and attributing it to guerrillas, Franco authorities proceeding to new executions. In Barcelona four executed; in Sevilla three death sentences passed against union leaders; the trial in the Ocaña prison has ended with a sentence of death for José Satué, a member of the executive committee of the General Workers' Union, and all other defendants. Great danger all will be executed. Urge you bring news American people to promote protest." ✱

MAURICE THOREZ, ONE OF FRANCE'S TOP Communists, made no slip of the tongue when he served notice that in the event of a Soviet occupation of his country the Communists would support the Russian troops. His view quickly found expression in a party resolution, and within two days was echoed by Comrade Togliatti, head of the party in Italy. In a sense this is an extension of the view advanced some weeks ago by Thorez's colleague and leader, Jacques Duclos, in connection with Dr. Joliot-Curie's remark that as a loyal Frenchman he would not consider giving atomic information to "any foreign power." A Communist, Duclos replied, "does not consider the Soviet Union as a foreign country. . .

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every man of progress has two countries: his own and the Soviet Union." It is not like the Communists to be as forthright as all this without a purpose. In France, no doubt, the feeling for peace is very deep. What Thorez appears to have in mind is the exploitation of that feeling to the advantage of the Soviet Union. He is saying that the Communists promise peace, but if they are thwarted in this by French adherence to the proposed Atlantic Pact, then France can hope for neither peace nor victory; it will be inviting a war in which its numerically powerful Communists will decisively cast their lot with the Soviet occupying force. In short, it would be better for France to reject the Western alliance than to find itself involved in a war which would subject it to complete Soviet domination. Comrades Duclos and Thorez may or may not underestimate the national patriotism of the French, but they have most certainly overlooked the effect of their bluntness on their partisans in other countries. It is hardly possible for Communists in New York to argue that they are just another American political party, entitled to the same privileges as Republicans and Democrats, while in Paris and Rome their comrades pledge themselves to back the enemy in the event of war.

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THE 800,000 VOTERS WHO LAST NOVEMBER tried, unsuccessfully, to liberalize the anti-birth-control law in Massachusetts must have worried the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Now it is preparing for future tests by making object lessons of some of those who dared to support the reform. New Englanders will recall that four days before the balloting the Farren Memorial Hospital in Montague dismissed four doctors who had publicly indorsed passage of "Question 4," the measure which would have allowed—but not obliged—Massachusetts physicians to give birth-control advice for the protection of life or health. Despite appeals on their behalf by the Massachusetts Council of Churches, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Planned Parenthood League, and, more recently, the medical society of the district in which Farren is located, the four men are still on the hospital's black list. The position of the medical society was determined by a two-to-one vote of its members, but its petition was curtly rejected by the Farren trustees, who are headed by Bishop Thomas M. O'Leary of Springfield. The hospital is not church-owned, although most of its trustees are Roman Catholics; it is a tax-exempt institution subject to the same obligations as any other public charitable corporation in the state. There has been no pretense that any other grounds for the dismissals existed than advocacy of "Question 4." The sole issue is one of free thought and free speech in a community where the church fears the growing enlightenment of the people on a subject it considers peculiarly its own business.

THE DIFFICULTIES IN BERLIN, INSTEAD OF improving, seem to grow worse with a further tightening of the blockade and rumors of changes in the value of the eastern mark. Life for Berliners was already complicated enough, as is indicated in Mr. del Vayo's interview (page 269) with a qualified resident of that city speaking freely in New York. But certainly the most important development is the report on the Berlin currency situation made by the Committee of Neutral Experts which the Security Council appointed last November, with Gunnar Myrdal, well-known financial authority and member of the United Nations staff, as general secretary. Although it was released several days ago, the report has attracted little attention in the American press, perhaps because the experts stated their inability to find a formula which would reconcile the differences among the occupying powers. But its political implications will not fail to be brought into the open when the General Assembly meets again at Lake Success on April 1. The report carries as appendix a "Project of Agreement," laying down a detailed plan for currency control. Why was such an important section published as a mere appendix? Possibly to avoid emphasizing the embarrassing fact that the project had been accepted as a basis of discussion by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Russia but rejected in its totality by the United States. It takes no exceptional gift of prophecy to foresee that, as soon as the report is officially handed to the governments involved, this fact will be used to the limit by the Russians.

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INDICATIVE OF THE FRIGHTENED SPIRIT OF our time was last week's scurrying for cover by a number of prominent Americans who made their obeisance to the principle of "guilt by association" by withdrawing from the *Churchman's* annual award dinner. The cause of their retreat was a nasty campaign, charging the publication with Communist sympathies, spearheaded by *Counterattack*, a Washington newsletter edited by former FBI agents. Common Cause, Friends of Democracy, and the American Jewish League against Communism joined in the campaign. Many sponsors of the dinner were personally approached by T. C. Kirkpatrick, editor of *Counterattack*, who buttressed his printed charges with private warnings that even attendance at the function would certainly imply contamination by contact. Like many independent progressives, Dr. Shipler, editor of the *Churchman*, has at one time or another been associated with Communists in organizations now branded as subversive by the Attorney General, and it is this fact that gave his enemies a pretext for their attack. But their far-fetched and malicious charges were largely offset by the stature of the guest of honor, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, who, like previous recipients of the *Churchman* award—Dwight D. Eisenhower, Wendell L. Willkie,

and Franklin D. Roosevelt—can hardly be regarded as a Communist stooge. Apparently it never occurred to Dr. Shipler's attackers that it would be rather illogical for a "party-liner" to make awards to men unswervingly opposed to communism. The measure of the current hysteria is indicated by a definition in the Friends of Democracy's memorandum on Dr. Shipler: "... a Communist-Fronter is one who denies being associated with the Communist political or propaganda movement."

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THE BRITISH TORIES PROBABLY NOW REGRET that they built up the South Hammersmith by-election as a crucial political test. For once again the Labor Party, which in forty-eight contests since 1945 has never lost a seat, triumphed over its opponents. No other British government in history has such a record; always in the past the pendulum has begun to swing against the party in power soon after it took office. South Hammersmith looked like a first-class bet for the Tories. They had held it for many years before 1945, when they lost by the comparatively narrow margin of 3,000 votes. It is what the British call a "dormitory" district in the extreme west of the county of London. The population is mixed, partly working-class, partly middle-class, with a sprinkling of the well-to-do occupying pleasant Georgian houses along the Thames. Here, if anywhere, was a place where the alleged anger of the housewife at the government might have made itself felt. The Tories made a tremendous effort, even bringing Mr. Churchill to tour the constituency. But once again the electors showed they were more impressed with the actual achievements of the government than with the vague and contradictory promises of the opposition.

Social Security for All

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S proposals for social-security legislation, submitted to Congress last week, represent the first real effort to extend protection to tens of millions of the least secure in our population—domestic workers, farm laborers, casual workers, and the self-employed. During the past ten years every Presidential annual message to Congress has urged the extension of social security to some of the groups not now covered, but never before has the Administration dared to propose an all-inclusive measure. And never before has there been any real possibility that Congress would act on the President's recommendation.

In addition to providing for extended coverage, the program calls for a sharp increase in benefits and for federal assistance to the states to raise the standards for home relief. As a result of the war and the post-war inflation the benefits provided under the present law have

become so inadequate that it is farcical to refer to the system as providing "security." Mr. Truman's proposal would nearly double the benefits in the lower brackets and the maximum—not yet obtainable—would be raised from \$85 to \$150 a month. At the same time the retirement age for women employees, widows, and wives of insured wage-earners would be reduced from sixty-five to sixty.

Another encouraging feature of the President's program is its inclusion of protection against two costly risks that have previously been unrecognized except in a few states: for sickness and short periods of disability benefit payments ranging from \$8 to \$64 a week are provided; for permanent disability from causes other than age there are benefits comparable to those paid for old age. The absence of disability benefits has long been recognized as the most serious gap in our social-security program. The relief load in most local communities has in recent years consisted chiefly of aged persons who were either not eligible for old-age benefits or unable to support themselves on these benefits and of the families of the sick and disabled. To a very large degree, then, the liberalization of the Social Security Act will shift the burden of caring for the indigent from local relief to a systematic, self-supporting federal program.

The proposal to boost the pay-roll tax from 1 to 2 per cent on both employees and employers and to extend the tax to the first \$4,800 of income instead of the first \$3,000, as at present, is the one dubious aspect of the program. Under present conditions the pay-roll tax draws largely from the lowest income groups in the population, and the amount paid out in benefits does not begin to approximate the amount collected in taxes. During the past year, for instance, approximately \$1,750,000,000 was collected under the old-age insurance plan, and only a little more than \$500,000,000 was paid out in benefits. No official estimate has been made as to how much will be collected under the extended plan at the new rates, but it will probably be between four and five billion dollars. Only a fraction of this huge sum will flow back in the form of increased benefits during the next few years. Ultimately, it is true, benefits will catch up with and even surpass taxes. But it is dangerous, in order to sell the scheme as a pay-as-you-go measure, to store up purchasing power on such a huge scale over a period of years. There can be no justification for imposing the safeguards necessary for a privately operated, limited-reserve life-insurance company on a government-operated, nation-wide security program.

A few other weaknesses might be mentioned. Even with the revisions suggested by the President, the program gives larger benefits and more adequate protection to the higher salaried persons who are regularly employed than those who work intermittently at low wages. This is in sharp contrast to the British plan of benefits

proportionate to need rather than to income. Moreover, the amounts paid to the blind, the aged, the unemployed, and the disabled vary widely according to the cause of the need rather than the need itself. Yet despite these remaining defects, tremendous progress has been made in devising a security system that will give protection against most of the hazards likely to be encountered by the average American breadwinner.

Achievement at Rhodes

THE armistice agreement signed last week at Rhodes between Israel and Egypt broke the long deadlock that has prevented the settlement of other outstanding issues in the Middle East. Although the Egyptian government, to save its face and perhaps its skin, has carefully stressed the fact that the agreement is a purely military one and implies no acceptance of Israel as a state or of the principle of partition, no one doubts that it marks the end of effective Arab opposition. The other Arab states are hurrying to come to terms with the Israelis, and it is already evident that each will try to get as favorable a deal as possible without regard to its neighbors. The concept of "Arab unity" has now evaporated, not only because of the success of Jewish arms, or the authority of the United Nations, but because it was never much more than a figment of British imperial imagination.

The negotiations just beginning, as this issue goes to press, between Israel and Lebanon are likely to be brief and uneventful. Those with Transjordan may prove more difficult, since they will involve the status of Jerusalem and the fixing of boundaries in the Negev, and since the Arab Legion was the one serious fighting force among the invading armies. But the armistice with Egypt makes ultimate agreement with Abdullah certain. Although he may bargain sharply, he will bargain alone, as far as the other Arab states are concerned. His one backer will be Britain, which undoubtedly still hopes for a division of the Negev favorable to Transjordan and thus to itself. But even this support will mean less than in the past, for the prestige of Mr. Bevin has been badly battered by the events of the last six months. Since the November elections the State Department seems to have abandoned the policy of supporting British-Arab maneuvers and has thrown its influence behind an early settlement between Israel and its attackers. This government's desire to stabilize the situation in Palestine has been evidenced both in its de jure recognition of Israel and in the loan of \$100,000,000 recently granted by the Import-Export Bank. It is significant, too, that President Truman, in welcoming the Israel-Egyptian armistice, took occasion to suggest that after peace had been arranged in Palestine, the question of extending economic assistance to

the Middle East under the "bold new program" for improving undeveloped areas might well be discussed. All of which leaves Mr. Bevin a much-reduced opportunity for advancing his own policies in the coming negotiations between Israel and Transjordan. We were glad to note, as a minor sign of the times, that the Israelis rejected Glubb Pasha as one of the Transjordan delegation.

Much credit for the progress toward a final settlement should go to the United Nations Mediator, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche. His firm handling of the negotiations at Rhodes has been in striking contrast to the wavering, weak-kneed attitude he took in the days following the assassination of Count Bernadotte. Whether this is due to the fact that the Assembly's decisions freed him from the entangling influence of the Bernadotte plan or that the American elections demonstrated a new day had dawned, we cannot say. Whatever the reason, Dr. Bunche's notable accomplishment deserves due acknowledgment by those who, like ourselves, found reason to criticize his previous activities.

The Club in the Closet

THE President believes that prices are leveling off and that we may have seen the last of the inflationary spiral. But he has not retreated from his demand for power to control prices and allocate scarce commodities and for a four-billion-dollar increase in taxes.

This is an unpopular program in business circles, and not surprisingly most of the press has denounced it. One line commonly taken is that Mr. Truman is asking for legislation to deal with a crisis that has passed. The danger of inflation, it is asserted, has vanished, and the real threat now facing us is recession which might become depression, particularly if the Administration insists on controls that undermine business confidence and taxes that destroy incentive. In support of this argument the press is tending to play up unfavorable news and to play down developments which suggest that the present decline in business may prove a temporary dip.

We suspect that the prophets of gloom are overdoing it, although it is true that, at this moment, the national economy has reached a rather delicate balance. The increase in unemployment, though partly seasonal, is the most unfavorable factor, but there is hope for an improvement soon. Retail trade has responded fairly well to price-cutting; heavy construction contracts in the first seven weeks of this year were 50 per cent higher than in 1948; and New York bank loans are expanding a little, whereas a year ago they were contracting.

None of the powers assigned to the President by the Spence (economic-stabilization) bill need alarm competitive business. They include authority for the government to fix maximum prices and to control wages in the in-

dustries affected; to make loans for expansion of production of commodities in short supply and as a last resort to build and operate new facilities for this purpose; and to allocate scarce goods, particularly metals, prices of which show no signs of receding. The bill is permissive—a club in the closet which is unlikely to be brandished indiscriminately. Certainly the President will not impose ceilings on industries beginning to cut prices. But he could usefully flourish his club at those which, by reason of semi-monopoly or because of special circumstances, are still able to dictate to buyers.

Nor is the proposed tax program, if confined to moderate increases in taxes on business profits and higher-bracket incomes, necessarily deflationary. Our preference would be for an excess-profits levy rather than an increase in corporation income tax, since the former will hit those enjoying exceptional earnings while the latter would fall hard on those now experiencing a setback in business.

A legitimate ground for criticism of the President's program is that it is mainly negative. In view of the inflationary factors still operative, it is reasonable for him to ask for power to check any new price spiraling. On the other hand, the possibility that deflation will proceed too rapidly cannot be entirely disregarded. Dr. Nourse, chief of the President's economic advisers, has said that the situation is healthy if the public does not become "jittery." But that is rather a big "if" in view of the fact that our economic system is still vulnerable to waves of emotion. We should feel happier, therefore, if Mr. Truman were also seeking powers to check recession should it show signs of deepening. Change could come rather suddenly, and then a delay while new legislation was being prepared might be dangerous. One precaution that Congress would be wise to consider would be a suspensive power to cancel or reduce excises, which, as we pointed out two weeks ago, are a direct discouragement to consumption. If it were possible for these levies to be dropped whenever unemployment reached, say, four million, a fairly potent automatic brake on recession would be available to the Administration.

We fear Mr. Truman may be unwilling to ask for such a measure because of over-respect for a balanced budget. Recently he told reporters that even if the country were definitely heading into a recession, his tax program would be necessary because government expenses would not diminish and the Administration would still be trying to avoid a recession. As of this moment Mr. Truman is probably justified in seeking a surplus. But he should beware of regarding a balanced budget as something sacred and so falling into the error of Mr. Hoover. In the circumstances of the last four years it has been sound to shoot for a surplus: indeed, the target should have been bigger. But under different conditions it could be equally imperative to plan for a deficit.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

O'Dwyer Goes Campaigning

NOT many years ago, in the city of Pittsburgh, there lived a university professor whose competence had so impressed itself on the community that the mayor invited him to head that municipality's Department of Public Welfare. Now it happened that the professor believed ardently in the right of all men to be heard, and, acting in this belief, he had earlier helped some townsmen locate a hall in which to proclaim their sympathies for the lawful government of Spain. When the mayor announced his appointment, a certain clerical group, known to look with jaundiced eye on the lawful government of Spain, recalled the incident and cried out in protest. At this, the scholar, unwilling to be the cause of strife or to see his political party embarrassed, declined the appointment, giving his reasons in the public press. Whereupon citizens of other faiths, alarmed at the power of the protesting clergy to impose their will in the field of politics, complained in turn and begged the mayor not to accept the scholar's withdrawal.

So emphatic was this reaction that the churchmen soon appeared to regret having raised such a storm. In the hope of finding a formula that would make all well, they invited the professor to meet with them and explain his position. This the professor did, and accepting then what they might with better judgment have accepted in the beginning, they withdrew their objections, granting that he had acted only in the interest of civil liberty. The appointment was made in due course, and so able and just was the professor's conduct in office that those who had most loudly objected to him were at last to pay him public tribute and admit that they had been in the wrong.

In this way the City of Pittsburgh was spared from following the pattern of the City of Boston.

ITELL this tale primarily for the benefit of New Yorkers, because the scholar's name was Bryn J. Hovde, who with a slight change of scene and circumstance is once more the center of a row involving public office. This time the post is the presidency of Queens College, and the appointing power rests with the Board of Higher Education; but the opposition stems partly from the same Catholic church circles, and it has no more substance than it had in the Pittsburgh episode. In place of the charge that he helped Loyalist supporters find a meeting place, we now have the accusation that by attending the so-called World Congress of Intellectuals in Poland Dr. Hovde served the uses of the Communists as a "political innocent." A second count is that the

president of the New School for Social Research is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee which protested against the banning of *The Nation* from New York's public schools.

There was certainly little enough to go on in this bill of particulars. The easily ascertained truth was that Dr. Hovde had dropped a block-buster on the meeting in Poland, stripping bare the subservience of Soviet culture, and giving the Communists every reason to wish he had stayed in New York and left their congress to pursue its fatuous resolutions in peace. As for *The Nation* ban, Dr. Hovde's position, as in his Pittsburgh days, was simply that of the civil libertarian who opposes all forms of censorship. Nevertheless, Mayor O'Dwyer appeared to lose all perspective. Summoning the Board of Higher Education to his office, he lectured it as though it were a panel of juvenile delinquents, declared on his own information that Dr. Hovde's appointment would be "offensive" to the people of Queens, and warned it against "stuffing somebody down their throats." After which he reverted blandly to the bare bones of the law: "I still intend to leave it up to the good judgment of the board."

The Mayor's violation of the board's independence—certainly the grossest in recent New York scholastic history—raises some extremely interesting questions bearing on next fall's mayoralty election. Why did he feel called upon to take any action at all, when neutrality would not only have been politically expedient but was ethically mandatory? Will it enhance the chances of a Fusion-Republican opposition, such as won for LaGuardia? And how will it affect the position of O'Dwyer's many adherents on the left—in the Liberal Party, in Americans for Democratic Action, and in the trade unions?

As for the Mayor's motives, three have been advanced. His own explanation is that he wished merely to prevent the board from acting autocratically and without taking into account the attitudes of the people of Queens. Aside from the misconception that college presidents can be popularly chosen, and aside, too, from the fact that he had taken no plebiscite before concluding that Dr. Hovde was offensive to the "majority," Mr. O'Dwyer's rationale is wafer-thin. He could have passed on to the board any information he considered relevant, but there was no excuse for undermining Dr. Hovde's reputation or for publicly intimidating an agency that must remain free of political pressures if it is to have any integrity.

A second explanation, hinted rather than openly charged, is that the Mayor was responding to direct pressure from "Fifty-second Street," the "Power House," and other such euphemisms for the seat of Catholic authority in the city. Naturally this is an accusation not easily susceptible of proof. Actually one of the prime movers in the opposition to Hovde is Supreme Court

Justice Charles S. Colden, a Protestant. Yet the arguments against the appointment have their origin in the *Brooklyn Tablet*, which must be regarded as a voice of the hierarchy since it is the official Roman Catholic organ of the diocese.

THE third explanation of the Mayor's behavior is that he is mending his fences for the election campaign to come. While no formidable opposition has yet appeared on the horizon, he has reason to believe that there will be defections from his camp. He is hardly likely to have the support of the American Labor Party, which will probably put up a candidate of its own—Vito Marcantonio being prominently mentioned. Indorsement by the A. L. P. would not help a Democrat, the political climate being what it is, and O'Dwyer would in all likelihood reject support from that quarter if it were offered. Nevertheless, he must weigh the actual loss in votes and try to make it up elsewhere.

Then, too, there is the threat of a revived clean-government movement, allied with the Republicans. This would be serious only if the rumors of graft in the O'Dwyer administration were elevated to the level of proved fact and the corruption shown to be of the magnitude of the Walker regime's. So far even the allegations do not go beyond the kind of petty extortions which characterize our major cities except in periods of sensational reform. The Republicans in Albany have long been murmuring about a new "Seabury investigation," but they are noticeably hesitant to act. Should such a probe be held between now and Election Day, and should it hit pay dirt, O'Dwyer, even if he were not personally vulnerable, would have to figure on the loss of the Liberal Party, too, as well as the independent vote represented by organizations like the A. D. A.

With these concerns in mind, the Mayor may well have thought nervously of Queens, which of all five boroughs slips most readily into the Republican column. Queens is 40 per cent Catholic and, except for Richmond, the most conservative borough in the city. Against this he must have weighed the effect of the Hovde episode on his liberal friends, of whom he has many. Here two considerations could have occurred to him. He rates high with labor, and he may figure on retaining its support in any event. And, second, there is as yet no LaGuardia in sight to weave an opposition into a serious challenge.

Nevertheless, the Hovde affair has shocked some of the Mayor's warmest supporters. What Mr. O'Dwyer underestimated—he is said to be genuinely surprised—was the depth of feeling his crude intervention would arouse. If it was merely a political blunder, he may count on the short memory of voters; but if future events show it to have been a direct response to pressure from a single group, he may find that New Yorkers by and large are pretty much the same as Pittsburghers.

Gentle Crusader

By THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, February 25

OSCAR CHAPMAN, Under Secretary of the Interior Department, is one of the few surviving authentic New Dealers in the Truman Administration. Although a professionally respected and pragmatic politician, he held out for a forthright liberal platform instead of one built around a fancy strategy of expedience. And unlike many party leaders, he seems to realize clearly that the Administration must deliver as well as promise. His campaign warnings that the Democrats can only hold power as a liberal party are growing in importance today when the Eighty-first Congress is deciding whether to plunge ahead with the Truman program or go down in history as a greater fiasco than its predecessor.

Chapman is a fifty-three-year-old Virginian who moved many years ago to Colorado and got into the sweep of Western political liberalism under such figures as Judge Ben B. Lindsey and the late Senator Edward P. Costigan. He still bears the stamp of the small towns of the rural South. The fifty-acre farm on which he was born—"out from the town of Omega," a cross-roads store and post office—was all that was left of a plantation that had belonged to his grandfather. Chapman's family suffered economically from the government's policy, during Reconstruction, of breaking up the Southern plantations into family-sized farms, but today he says, "The principle is a just one, and I am for it." As Assistant Secretary and as Under Secretary he has fought hard for the department's land-use program in the Central Valley of California and other arid regions, which is based on a similar principle.

Fundamental to Chapman's whole outlook is the fact that he grew up with the economic point of view of poor whites rather than planters. This was the point of view of the Populists, whose political and economic revolt for a time overthrew the planter leadership of the Democratic Party in many Southern states at the turn of the century. Expressed with varying degrees of intelligence or irrationality, it has been the source of many currents in American politics. On one level it has led to sporadic "peasant revolts" and barn burnings. On another it has brought the return to office of corrupted folk heroes of the Bilbo and Talmadge type. Paradoxically it was the source of Roosevelt's strength in the Southern states during the New Deal. At its highest and most stable level this native protest has produced some powerful progressive personalities, like Chapman.

Chapman earned a high-school education by milking cows. Early in 1918 he enlisted in the navy, but he soon contracted tuberculosis and was sent to the

naval hospital in Colorado. Gradually he recovered and in August, 1920, was discharged. He decided to stay in Colorado and attend the University of Denver law school. "Whenever I thought of going back home, I began to think how rigid the political outlook was there. I was interested in politics and had begun to develop progressive ideas. And I knew there was more independence of thought in the Western states and that it was a better field to work in."

About this time he met Judge Lindsey, a veritable genius, according to Chapman, in the field of sociology. He became assistant probation officer in Lindsey's court and then served as chief officer for seven years. Lindsey was a friend of Edward P. Costigan's and had been active with him—and with Harold Ickes, under whom Chapman was later to serve—in the 1912 Chicago convention of the Bull Moose Republicans. In 1927 Costigan resigned from the Tariff Commission with a sensational blast against the Republicans' protectionist policies. Though Chapman had never been active in state politics, he nominated Costigan for Senator in 1930, and then managed his campaign. In 1932 Chapman managed President Roosevelt's campaign in a five-state area, and as a reward Roosevelt appointed him Assistant Secretary of the Interior in May, 1933.

THOUGH associated with the New Deal, the TVA idea developed out of the debate over disposition of the power plant built by the federal government during World War I at Muscle Shoals, Alabama. For ten years after the war the idea of public power and valley reclamation was criticized by engineers, economists, and politicians as wildly impractical. Under the New Deal the TVA experiment was undertaken, and when war came again it was one of our most valuable sources of power. Chapman helped to convince the other campaign strategists that identification with this tremendous political legacy was as important in the field of vote-getting as TVA power had been in the manufacture of aluminum. And he argued successfully for development and emphasis of the idea of land-use and reclamation projects throughout the country, particularly out West.

The land-use and reclamation battle is far from over, but the November election proved that the voting majorities in the affected areas now favor such programs. The bitterness of the opposition was indicated last week when Senator Sheridan Downey, California Republican, attempted to cripple the activities of the Interior Department's Soil Reclamation Bureau, which backs the "160-acre principle." In conformity with this principle the government provides free water for family-sized farms in reclaimed arid regions but requires corporate operators to pay for the larger amounts they use.

Toward adversaries like Downey, Oscar Chapman seems to feel only the mild disappointment that might

be aroused in a small-town reformist preacher by some blatant and uncooperative merchant. "Since the first reclamation law was passed in 1902," he says, "Congress never has intended to spend its money to provide water for the big operators. The purpose of the whole program is the development of family-sized holdings in arid areas. Senator Downey is so inaccurate and excitable on this subject there is just no use discussing it with him." Then the politician materializes in the parson: "We beat him on this same amendment last year; he hasn't got a chance."

Since the early years of his association with Judge Lindsey, Chapman has worked enthusiastically for the protection of minority rights. Together they fought for civil and economic rights for Mexicans in Colorado. "We fought for child-labor legislation until eventually we got children out of the beet fields," he says. In Denver he headed a race-relations committee. And in Washington he has worked actively with Zionist groups.

In last November's campaign, from mid-August till the final week before the voting, Chapman traveled through the country five to seven days ahead of the President's special train making arrangements for the stops and drumming up trade. Chapman would establish contact with all liberal, labor, and party groups and try to bring them together for vigorous and co-operative support of the President and the particular speech that was scheduled. The vast crowds that began to amaze reporters—but that no one took seriously—were in part the result of his efforts. Chapman also sounded out cagy local bosses and sent back reliable information to Clark Clifford and Matt Connally.

Chapman is aware that "a lot of people are growing uneasy now about the apparent delay of the program in Congress." "It's true," he says, "that almost two months of this session of Congress have gone by, and little more has been done in this period than was accomplished in the preceding Congress. But . . . it was not until after the inauguration on January 20 that they could actually start any of the big bills moving in committee. . . . The program is going to get through."

Chapman says frankly that the program, or most of it, must get through if the Democrats are not to be threatened with loss of Congress. "The Eightieth Congress was repudiated," he says, "because the people were reaching out for something, for progress, and the legislators had slowed down." Chapman concedes that if this slow-down happens again, the electorate may look elsewhere for what it wants. But it will be reaching out, even though in confusion, for the ideal of progress and not for the economic reaction of the classic Republican philosophy. The electorate has passed beyond the point, he says, where it will ever, in good times or bad, vote knowingly for that kind of program again. And Chapman deserves some of the credit for this political maturity.

Del Vayo—Inside Berlin

AS I SAT talking with a German the other day in a room in a New York hotel, I felt as if by some magic I had been transported to the capital of the old Reich, which I last visited two years ago. My companion was a Berlin professional man who had been brought to the United States for three weeks for consultation. On the next day he was to take the plane back to Germany. Central Park was spread out below his window, bright in the February sun and radiating a feeling of spring which belied the reputation of a New York winter. His room was warm and comfortable, and on his table were the remains of such a breakfast as he could not have dreamed of eating at home. New York fascinated him, and he spoke of it with almost provincial enthusiasm.

After talking with him for more than two hours I still could not tell what his politics were, if, indeed, he knew himself; but it was clear that he was counting the hours until he could leave New York, which offered so much, and return to the ruins of Berlin. Having been present at the opening of the most spectacular and most decisive battle of the cold war, he seemed to feel in some way bound to see how it developed. He gave me the facts about Berlin without dramatizing them, and what he told only reinforced the story of Germany related by "Carolus" in last week's issue of this magazine.

The crucial fact in the life of Berlin is the Soviet blockade and the American answer to it, the air lift. For the air lift my companion showed the interest which is aroused in all Germans by any prodigious feat of organization. But he was too realistic to be dazzled by it. On clear days, he reminded me, the air lift can bring in seven thousand tons of goods; in normal times Berlin used to receive daily twenty-five thousand tons. No admiration for the wonders of aviation can cover up that difference. Besides, the air lift must first take care of the needs of the Western troops stationed in Berlin; after that it must bring in enough food to provide minimum rations for the civil population and enough coal for minimum power requirements—that is, to furnish electric current during perhaps two hours in the twenty-four. Often the electricity is on only at night, and people have to get up at three in the morning to wash and iron and cook, and then go to bed again until it is time to start for work.

Much more serious is the currency question. On the very morning of our talk the New York papers carried news of the panic in Berlin when the rumor spread that the Russians were planning a new monetary reform in their zone. The official rate of 3.20 or 3.40 eastern marks to one western mark dropped to six to one, and on the black market ten and even twelve eastern marks were paid for one western mark. The German pressed his hands to his head despairingly as he thought of all the complications introduced by the new exchange rate. Even before he left Berlin the mathematical variations of the two marks could have been followed only by an Einstein. It was bad enough, he said, for the director of a factory, who must comply with countless regulations and formalities when he pays his workers, but it is worse for

the plain citizen. If a Berliner takes his shoes to be half-soled and then tries to pay for them in eastern marks, he discovers that he cannot get them back unless he gives the cobbler much more than the official rate.

The contest between the two marks was described to me in a forty-minute-long learned lecture in the best German style. The speaker believed that it offered opportunities for subtle psychological warfare, and that in this field the Russians would certainly win. He also believed that the Russians would finally win the Battle of Berlin. In one year or in two, in spite of the glory and efficiency of the air lift, the Americans would either break the blockade by force or withdraw from the city.

Although my German insisted he was no politician, one thing he told me revealed his political acumen. "The Russians," he said, "propose to sovietize first eastern Germany and then, if possible, the western zones. But they have an alternative policy. If they perceive they cannot carry out their plans, they will content themselves with attaching Germany to them under any form of government. They will be willing to sign a pact with a bourgeois or conservative Germany which considers that its interests lie with Russia." This amounted to saying that while western Germany might aid the Anglo-Saxon powers in the cold war, it would not necessarily aid them if a "hot" war broke out. For in that event the Russians could always say to the Germans: "Join us, and we will help you to achieve unity under any regime you choose."

We talked then about transportation in Berlin, and as concrete evidence of its dreadful state he showed me his overcoat with three buttons almost torn off. The crowds in the trams were almost unendurable, he said, and before you could push your way on you had to wait on the street corner for an hour. The reasons of course were shortage of power and wornout equipment. Moreover, while people waited endlessly in the cold they would see the omnibuses of the occupation forces go by almost empty—a couple of Englishmen would be sitting where there was room for forty or fifty people. "That doesn't make the occupation more popular."

People count the days that the blockade has lasted. "When I left, it had been 250 days, my cleaning-woman told me." The winter has been mild and the absence of snow has allowed air transport to be stepped up. "The Russians miscalculated about this; they counted on the air lift running into trouble between November and April. Perhaps they hope next winter will be more severe." I interrupted him: "You are contemplating another year of it?" "Why not?" he answered soberly. "It is easier for the Russians to continue the blockade than for the Americans and British to maintain the air lift." I asked, "How do the people of Berlin think all this is going to end?" "The optimists," he said, "think the difficulties caused the Russians by the Allied counter-blockade will induce the Kremlin to yield. The pessimists predict war in May. The majority of the people have no time to think."



LIBERTY IN AMERICA

The Test of a Teacher

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

[The ruling of the University of Washington that affiliation with the Communist Party was incompatible with the duties of a teacher was supported by Professor John L. Childs of Teachers College, Columbia University, in The Nation last week in an article entitled Communists and the Right to Teach. Carey McWilliams, a staff contributor and an ardent supporter of civil liberties, here presents the opposite point of view.]

Los Angeles, February 24

ACCEPTING the recommendation of President Raymond B. Allen, the Board of Regents of the University of Washington has dismissed three members of the faculty and placed three more on probation because of their political affiliations, past and present. This action can be properly understood only against the background of state politics, discussion of which must be omitted here. In at least five of the six cases, however, it was clearly unwarranted and a gross violation of academic freedom. Since few commentators have taken the trouble to learn the facts, I will summarize them briefly.

1. Joseph Butterworth and Herbert J. Phillips were discharged for admitted present membership in the Communist Party. Butterworth joined the faculty in 1929 as an associate in English; his special field happens to be Old and Middle English. Phillips, a member of the faculty since 1920, held the position of assistant professor of philosophy at the time of his discharge. At the hearing before the faculty committee on tenure and academic freedom all charges against these men other than the charge of membership in the Communist Party were withdrawn. Eight of the eleven members of the faculty committee recommended that neither Butterworth nor Phillips should be discharged or removed. The majority report specifically found that both men were academically competent, that they were at all times honest and forthright in the expression of their political beliefs, and that they had not sought to slant their teaching or to proselytize or to abuse their faculty positions.

2. Ralph Gundlach, associate professor of psychology, joined the faculty in 1924. His case is complicated by the fact that he neither admitted nor denied membership in the Communist Party and that a number of personal issues were involved. The entire committee recommended that he be discharged. Since the dismissal of Gundlach is entirely subsidiary to the main issue, it need

not be discussed. This is not to prejudge Gundlach's case; examination of the evidence has to be omitted for reasons of space.

3. Edwin H. Eby, professor of English; Garland O. Ethel, assistant professor of English; and Melville Jacobs, associate professor of anthropology, were placed on probation for two years because of admitted past membership in the Communist Party: Ethel had resigned in 1941, Jacobs in 1945, and Eby in 1946. It is important to note that the faculty committee was unanimous in its recommendation that these men should not be removed or discharged.

What are the rationalizations which have been used to justify the decision of the Board of Regents? Professor T. V. Smith of Syracuse University has advanced the theory that Butterworth and Phillips were properly discharged for neglect of duty, that is, the duty to remain unbiased. "If they were committed to that dogma," Dr. Smith has said, "they could not be unbiased." But this flat assertion is in direct conflict with the findings of the faculty committee, which were based on a seven weeks' hearing. It is difficult to see the relevance of the charge of "bias" in the case of Dr. Butterworth, a recognized authority on Chaucer. In the case of Dr. Phillips the committee found not only that he taught philosophy objectively but that he made a practice of calling attention to his personal beliefs in the opening session of his classes and of urging his students to keep this statement in mind in weighing what he had to say. These findings simply cannot be reconciled with the charge of bias.

Again, Dr. John S. Dickey, president of Dartmouth College—and, incidentally, a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights—has justified the discharges on the ground that Butterworth and Phillips were lacking, solely by reason of their membership in the Communist Party, in "that intellectual integrity which would permit them to examine evidence and search for truth." Words like "bias" and "integrity" have a curiously ironic echo in the particular context. Is "bias" to be measured, for example, by the standards of Dave Beck, the West Coast teamsters' czar, who is a member of the university's Board of Regents, or by the standard of an instructor's competence and classroom behavior? If the latter standard is to be discarded, would President Allen care to certify, under oath, that every member of his faculty is "unbiased"? Many instructors hold religious

beliefs which contradict the findings of physical science. Is their "intellectual integrity" to be judged by these beliefs? With respect to "bias," one wonders what President Allen would have to say about that all too familiar figure, the typical dean of a school of commerce, who functions in so many communities as an unofficial apologist for the N. A. M. The level of university instruction may have changed since I was an undergraduate, but I certainly think I encountered a number of biased minds among the members of the faculty at the University of Southern California. If personal "bias" is to be held a proof of incompetence, then a remarkable exodus from American colleges and universities is in order, and a new problem, "ideological unemployment," is upon us. I would certainly relish Thorstein Veblen's comments, or those of the late Charles Beard, on this matter of "bias." Surely T. V. Smith cannot have forgotten the chapter called *The Higher Learning as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture in "The Theory of the Leisure Class."*

THE vice in both arguments is the failure to recognize that education is part of the general structure of social and economic relationships. "The simple fact is," as Dr. Robert S. Lynd has pointed out, "that education may not look upon itself as an independent force in society . . . apart from a realistic appraisal of the nature and drive of power in the contemporary United States." Theoretically it might be desirable if education were "an autonomous permanent force," but it certainly is not that at the present time. Hence I can imagine nothing more unrealistic than to attempt to discuss values like "objectivity" and "integrity" as related to university instructors apart from the nature of universities, both public and private, as institutions in a capitalist society. Educational systems do not exist in a vacuum. As Harold Laski has written, "No educational system, at any level, will ever transcend the general postulates of the community in which it works; and those postulates, in a broad and general way, will be set by the values accepted by the ruling class in that society." The talk about "objectivity" and "integrity" in the Seattle case has an obvious reference to the values Laski mentions and not to those a truly independent educational system might assert.

It will be argued, of course, that the discipline of the Communist Party precludes even the minimum independence of mind which a university instructor should possess. Here it should be noted that both Butterworth and Phillips testified that they had not surrendered their intellectual independence by joining the Communist Party, that they had never been "disciplined" by the party, and that they had never been haled before any party tribunal to account for their beliefs. One of the ex-members of the Communist Party, Dr. Melville Jacobs, testified that "where Communists have urged a point for one or another special aspect of anthropological

science, I have often been in sharp disagreement." Of course one may discount this testimony or give it various interpretations. For example, one might assume that Butterworth and Phillips had a special status in the eyes of party functionaries and were therefore allowed a fairly wide latitude of dissent. The point, in any case, is that the committee was trying Butterworth and Phillips, not Foster and Dennis. Eight members of the faculty committee found that there was no reason whatever to question the honesty and sincerity of either Dr. Butterworth or Dr. Phillips.

As to the matter of discipline, do the upholders of the regents' decision care, I wonder, to press the implications of this theory? It can hardly be denied that liberal instructors in the social sciences are subject to pressures quite different from those brought to bear upon their conservative colleagues. In the case of conservative instructors no formal discipline is usually required to insure their loyalty to the status quo. As Laski has pointed out, "It is precisely that power of the teacher to be, in the fullest sense, a thinking citizen that is continually obstructed, and often perverted, by the mental climate of an America dominated by the business man, who is so curiously fearful of the habit of free speculation." Can it be seriously argued that external pressures do *not* operate to "discipline" the thinking of many American university instructors? In my view, these pressures and the discipline they command are more potent than those exercised by the Communist Party in the United States, *at the present time*. The decision reached by the Board of Regents represents the most powerful kind of discipline. Butterworth and Phillips have been denied, for an indefinite period, the opportunity to earn a livelihood in the profession for which they were trained and to which they have devoted the major portion of their adult lives. Nor can it be denied that Eby, Ethel, and Jacobs, who were entirely free from the discipline of the Communist Party at the time of the hearings, have also been rigorously disciplined. I venture to say that these men would find it extremely difficult to transfer to another institution, and I shall watch with interest to see what if any promotions they receive in the future. Isn't it apparent, therefore, that the social pressures and disciplines exerted by the dominant elements in our society are just as harmful in their effects as the discipline to which exception is now taken?

A PART from its intimidating effect, what are the likely consequences of this decision? For one thing, it is apparent that the next major case will involve faculty members who, although admittedly not members of the Communist Party, will be charged with holding beliefs substantially similar to those of Communists. The distinction now sought to be maintained between an "act," that is, joining the Communist Party,

and a "belief," will then crumble, and the interrogation will center on personal beliefs and convictions. The apologists for the regents contend that the decision has no bearing on the question of a mere "intellectual belief in Marxism." Dr. Smith, for example, has said that the Seattle professors "could not be fired for being intellectually Marxist." But I wonder whether Tucker P. Smith, a non-Communist and the vice-presidential nominee of the Socialist Party, who was recently dismissed from the faculty of Olivet College, would agree.

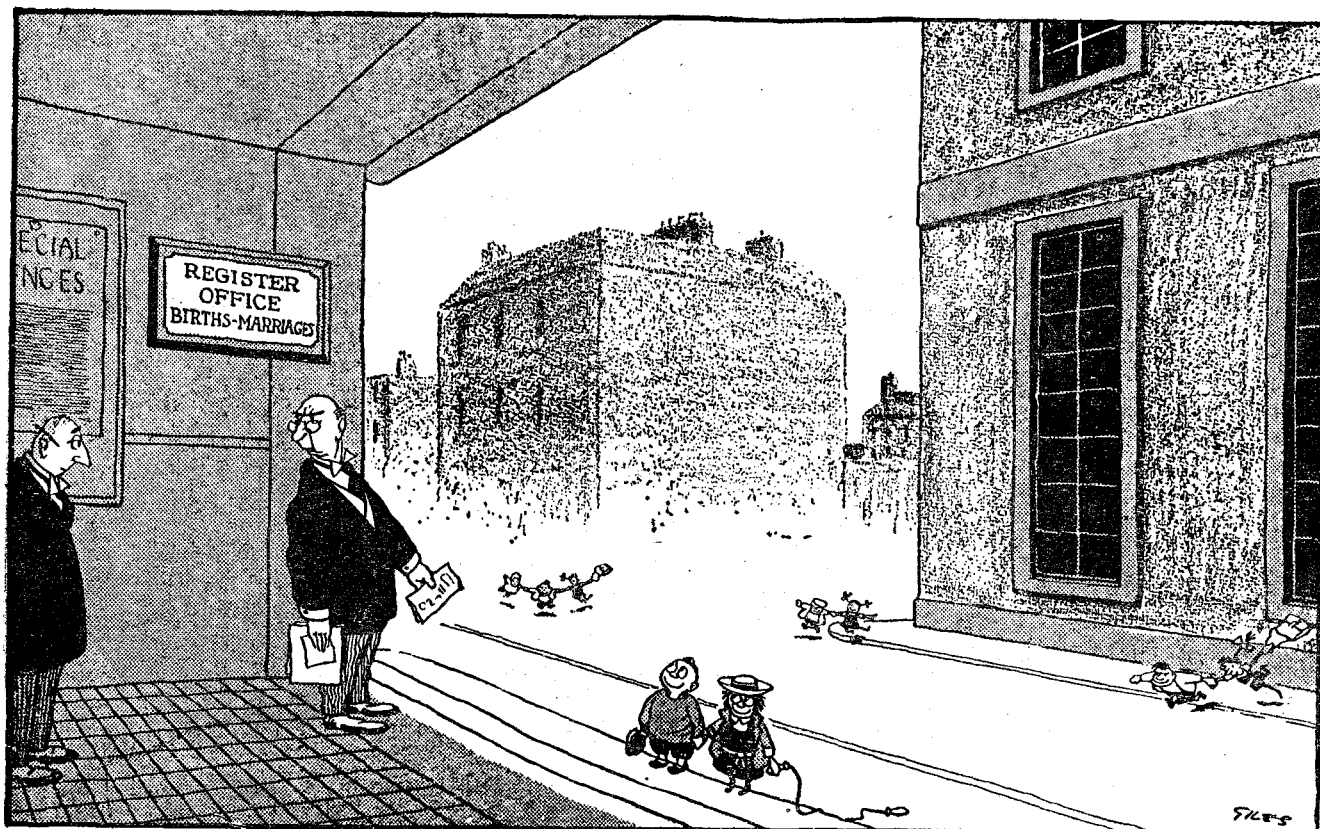
The effect of the decision can be tested in still another sense. Will it retard the growth of communism? Of what conceivable benefit will it be to those who seek to arrest the spread of communism? Already widespread sympathy has been aroused among non-Communists for Butterworth and Phillips, and they will be assured important forums and large audiences from coast to coast. Dissension and cleavage have been created among faculty members, the student body, and the general public. It is quite impossible, therefore, to justify the decision in pragmatic terms.

The Seattle case is an excellent illustration of the dangers of abstract theorizing about academic freedom. By setting up the committee on tenure the university administration in effect agreed to respect its findings. Yet the committee unanimously recommended no disciplinary action in the cases of Eby, Ethel, and Jacobs, and eight of eleven members said that neither Butterworth nor Phillips should be removed from the faculty. This is as though a jury were to find a man innocent

only to have the judge sentence him to life imprisonment. Columnists like Dorothy Thompson and Raymond Moley, who have praised the fairness, thoroughness, and orderliness of the procedure, apparently failed to read the faculty committee's report, which except in the case of Gundlach cannot be reconciled with the action of the administration. The way the facts of this case have been ignored is to me one of its most disturbing aspects.

ON THE narrow issue, rather than the policy question, it is apparent that Butterworth and Phillips were dealt with most unjustly. Both men joined the Communist Party in 1935. Membership in the Communist Party was legal then and is still legal in the state of Washington. For thirteen years these men were permitted to teach at the university without any warning or intimation that membership might jeopardize their tenure or status, and all this time their views were well known. The majority report of the faculty committee states that "neither the faculty of this institution, the administrative officers thereof, the Board of Regents, nor the state legislature has ever categorically defined the effect of Communist Party membership upon a faculty member's right to tenure." In view of this fact, the discharge of Butterworth and Phillips was clearly in the nature of a bill of attainder—punishment for an act which the administration had long recognized as permissible.

One is also puzzled by the action of the Board of Regents in placing Eby, Ethel, and Jacobs on probation.



"These sex talks in schools have started something—here are more of 'em want to get married."

London Express Service

If these men were presumed to have been so "biased," so lacking in "intellectual integrity" before their resignation from the Communist Party, as to have warranted their discharge, by what rite of purification did they suddenly become reinvested with these virtues upon their resignation? Apart from this question, it is quite clear that these men were actually punished for prior beliefs; thought control has been applied retroactively.

Lastly what is one to think of this decision in view of certain recommendations to be found in the "Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education"? In this report we are told that "to preserve our democracy we must improve it"; that "education should not get lost in the past, for it is making the future"; that

"perhaps its most important role is to serve as an instrument of social transition"; and, again, that "colleges must accelerate the normally slow rate of social change which the educational system reflects." Brave and excellent words, these; but as I read them in the light of the University of Washington case I find myself sharing with Dr. Lynd "a troublesome sense of indulgence in unreality, of something vital left out." That "something vital" is the structure of economic, social, and political power in the United States of which the educational system is a part. If any proof were needed, after Veblen, that our educational system is far from being "autonomous," the regents of the University of Washington have provided that proof.

Peiping's New Look

BY ANDREW ROTH

Peiping, February 15

JUST after landing at Peiping in one of the last planes to reach the city before the entrance of the Communists, I met an old friend who said, "You're just in time to do another 'Ten Days That Shook the World,'" referring, of course, to John Reed's famous story of the Bolshevik seizure of power in November, 1917. In the end the impending complete Communist victory in China will indeed probably shake the world; it has already tipped the balance enough to give Stalin the idea that he may now be able to negotiate a peace on terms of equality with the West.

Nevertheless, the first few weeks of Communist control in the presumed future capital of the most populous Communist-led nation in the world have been curiously undramatic. This may be largely because Peiping was not seized by storm either from within or without but surrendered by agreement on January 22. And even the drama of surrender evaporated when the Communist army stayed outside the city until almost all the Nationalist troops had left. These first days have been interesting chiefly for what they presage.

On February 3 there was an impressive all-day parade of troops being moved from the Peiping-Tientsin area to southern battlefields. The units which passed through the city were highly motorized: hundreds of newly captured American trucks pulled artillery, chiefly Japanese,

ranging as high as six-inch howitzers. (The army also has Russian trucks, but these were not paraded.) More impressive than the material, however, were the men. Although recruited from the same peasant stock and clad in the same faded yellow padded uniforms, the Communist troops look very different from the Nationalists. The average Nationalist recruit seems dazed, the Communist purposeful. The seriousness with which the Communist soldiers take themselves is, of course, a product of their indoctrination, which teaches them that they are what their name implies—the People's Liberation Army. Two students asked some Communist soldiers, "Are you Lin Piao's troops?" (Lin Piao being the Communist commander). "No," was the reply. "We are the people's troops."

A very large section of Peiping's inhabitants turned out or was brought out by its guilds and associations to greet the incoming army. But about the only unrestrainedly enthusiastic group was the students, who are now overwhelmingly pro-Communist although they come from the middle and upper classes. They sang and danced and cavorted in the streets in masquerade costumes. Although it is possible to discount this as youthful enthusiasm, it should be remembered that the Peiping student body has frequently expressed the national conscience. In 1919 and 1925 it sparkplugged the Nationalist movement and in 1936 was strongly anti-Japanese. Many Peiping residents were less enthusiastic. The long-suffering Chinese are a skeptical and pragmatic people who judge governments not by their names or programs but by whether they allow people to prosper. One liberal foreigner said to her cook excitedly, "The Communists have arrived!" The cook answered sourly, "Prices are still high."

ANDREW ROTH, The Nation's correspondent in China, has been in the East for more than two years. He reported the Chinese civil war from Shanghai, Hongkong, and Nanking before he flew to Peiping to observe the entrance of the Communists.

The take-over has been effected almost imperceptibly. One day Peiping's best newspaper plant was turning out the Kuomintang's *North China Daily*. The next day its newsboys were delivering to its subscribers the Communist *People's Daily*. This paper, edited by one of China's foremost journalists, may become another *Pravda*. All other newspapers but one continued publication, but most thought it advisable to use the Communist New China News Agency instead of the Kuomintang's Central News Agency.

Because their military successes have outstripped their political planning the Communists are very short of trained staff. So far, therefore, they have put their men in only the top posts of organizations taken over, leaving the rest to function as before. The local police, since the flight of their half-dozen Kuomintang-appointed chiefs, are ruled by a few men headed by General Tan Chen, wearing a padded cotton uniform too large for him with the sleeves turned up at his wrists.

"We don't know anything about running a city," he is reported to have said to his newly acquired subordinates, "We only know how to run a village. We have to learn from you. But you must learn politics from us." In his directions to his policemen he said, "The poor man is going to stand up now."

The Communists seem very expert at getting the poor man to stand up. And this is no small accomplishment in China, where the daily struggle to stay alive and the feudal habit of agreeing with whatever is said by people above you has fostered a deeply ingrained servility. The Communists made their first great effort at a labor meeting on February 7. About 20,000 workers marched and rode in from all quarters of the city and the surrounding country; a large miners' delegation came from Mentoukou. Grizzled labor leaders sat in the seats of honor. The speakers told them that now they have a "people's government" they must work hard to strengthen it and to protect it against attempts by "American-inspired peace peddlers" to subvert it.

The workers have been stimulated to considerable efforts to repair railway lines and the like, not only by vigorous propaganda but by the Communists' own grueling example. Peiping wonders at their hard work and direct, businesslike methods. On his first day in the city the Communist official in charge of currency distribution talked with the assistant manager of the government money-printing plant for twenty minutes, then promoted him to be manager, and started the plant issuing "people's notes" instead of the fast depreciating gold yuan. "Such a decision would have taken two days of talk and an approval from Chiang Kai-shek under the Kuomintang setup," commented one experienced onlooker. He later reported that this Communist official worked well into the night and then slept a few hours on the floor beside his desk.

There is a strong puritanical streak in the Chinese Communists. General Yeh Chien-ying, now mayor of Peiping, wears a worn blue-cotton uniform without insignia. The soldiers are not permitted to buy anything for themselves since their basic needs are supplied by the army. Communist political workers, asked how they spend their evenings, reply quite seriously, "In self-criticism."

The Communists seem excessively security-conscious. The peace delegates from Nanking applied for and obtained permission to fly here, but when the plane circled over the city—presumably against instructions—it was fired at. Chinese newspapermen who accompanied the delegates but had not been cleared by the high command had to stay at the airfield. The Communists seem to fear that planes may be vehicles for military or political espionage. Similar fears presumably caused the sealing off of radio and telegraphic connections in Tientsin and other captured cities. However, in Peiping the bamboo curtain has not yet descended. You can cable what you like and call up friends in Shanghai and Nanking by radiotelephone.

ONE of the knottiest problems for Peiping's new rulers is how to handle the two hundred foreigners and the numerous consulates in the city. Since the Communists are not recognized by any foreign power, they have, naturally, a somewhat chip-on-the-shoulder attitude. In Tientsin the Communist mayor consented to see the foreign consuls as individuals but refused to receive even the Soviet consul officially; he is reported to have said, "Since you do not recognize us, we cannot very well recognize you." This indicates diplomatic inexperience, for diplomatic recognition and consular status are not linked in international law.

The Communists show the hesitancy and suspicion of a people who have long lived in inland isolation, feeling the anti-Communist world actively against them and the Communist world only passively for them. While foreigners have not been molested in any way, they are required to have road passes for travel between Peiping and other Communist-held cities; but no office to issue such road passes has yet been set up. A similar lack of facilities for handling the business is thought to be the cause of Communist reluctance to let British ships start trading at Tientsin. Perhaps for the same reason foreign newspapermen have been unable to find any Communist official of even secondary rank willing to talk to them.

The main burden of Communist resentment, of course, is directed against America. As nationalists the Chinese Communists share the general feeling against the United States for interfering in Chinese affairs to aid an unpopular and reactionary regime. As Communists they fear and dislike America as the power-house of anti-communism. They regard American consulates as vir-

tually enemy bases within their territory and American newsmen as possible spies. In Mukden the American consulate's radio was not only sealed—like other consular radios—but confiscated, according to reports received here. At the same time the Communists are troubled by the realization that if China is to be modernized rapidly, it must obtain industrial supplies from the United States.

The recent seizure of American flour in Tientsin is an example of the current friction. Although the underlying motive of American economic aid to China has been to strengthen it against communism, food and medicines have directly aided the people. Post-war relief distribution demonstrated that when the Kuomintang handled the goods, most of them went to the officials. Therefore the United States has insisted on the right to distribute supplies itself. This the Communists and many others have considered unwarranted interference in China's affairs. When the Communists took Tientsin, they seized 5,000 tons of American flour and distributed it without reference to American officials on the spot. Washington reacted by closing down its economic-aid offices in Peiping and Tientsin.

We have already seen here how easy it is for the Communists to arouse anti-American sentiment. Most

correspondents wrote that although the students and some groups of organized workers greeted the Communists enthusiastically after the city surrendered, the majority of the people were reserved. The Communist news agency reported back the comments of A. P.'s Spencer Moosa mixed up with another A. P. story recalling the Japanese entrance into Peiping, and also quoted Michael Keon's story as apparently doctored by the U. P. office. The impression created was that American correspondents had said that the Japanese had got a better welcome. Vituperation was heaped on the heads of these two "American imperialist newspapermen"—neither of whom is really an American. Various groups demanded an apology from the writers or their expulsion. This brief flurry revealed the deep pool of anti-foreignism upon which the Communists can draw.

Although the propaganda against "American imperialism" is generally shrill, there are some softer notes. A Communist soldier said to an American professor recently: "We know about America. There is a small group of people there who want to kill us and a small group of people who want to help us. But the great majority doesn't know much about China and doesn't care." More significant, in Tientsin the name of Truman Road has been erased, but Roosevelt Road remains.

Rural Medicine Reborn

BY LEONARD ENGEL

IT IS a commonplace that the 70,000,000 Americans who live on farms or in towns of less than 10,000 population receive less and poorer medical care than those who live in cities. One reason is their lower per capita income. But even if rural incomes were raised to city levels, medical services in rural areas would be limited by circumstances inherent in the country setting—low population density, distance from metropolitan teaching centers, and so forth. The solution is a regional system of rural, small-city, and metropolitan hospitals which can provide facilities beyond the means of the individual small community and enable the rural physician to benefit from the medical teaching center—the core of big-city medicine. For nearly a decade and a half a little-known Boston foundation, the Bingham Associates Fund, has brought good medicine to rural New England through just such a regional system.

The Bingham foundation serves some thirty community hospitals in Maine and western Massachusetts.

Some are as small as the 12-bed hospital in Castine; a few are quite large, like the 202-bed Sisters' Hospital in Waterville; but most of them have about 50 beds. These community hospitals are linked to larger district hospitals, which are connected in turn with the New England Medical Center in Boston, the hospital center of the Tufts College Medical School. The organization furnishes a thoroughfare for a two-way medical traffic. From local hospital to district hospital to the center move patients, doctors' queries, and specimens for laboratory analysis. In the opposite direction, from teaching center to rural practitioner, flow technical reports and new medical knowledge.

The Bingham program, which is financed by William Bingham II of the Standard Oil family, originated in 1931 as a project to raise the community hospital at Rumford, Maine, near Bingham's summer home, to metropolitan standards. The Rumford project was intended as a demonstration. It soon became clear, however, that the approach was unrealistic. To raise a small-town hospital to big-city standards required equipment and personnel which the individual small hospital could not afford and the needs of the community did not war-

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation on interesting developments in the field of science.

rant: a minimum of several hundred beds is required, for example, to keep a pathologist busy. A preferable approach was to enable a number of small hospitals to share in the specialized services of a centrally located district hospital. Such a program was undertaken in 1936, with the 193-bed Central Maine General Hospital at Lewiston utilized as the district center for six hospitals in communities twenty to fifty miles distant from Lewiston. Since then eight outpost hospitals have been added to the Lewiston group, and two other groups have been formed. One, in eastern Maine, has the 213-bed Eastern Maine General Hospital at Bangor as district center for thirteen small hospitals. The other, in western Massachusetts, was established in 1946 with funds from the Rockefeller Foundation on a somewhat different system: since there is no large hospital in the Connecticut Valley towns of Massachusetts, four intermediate hospitals are used as a joint district center for three outpost hospitals.

ONE of the first undertakings of the Bingham organization was to provide the district hospitals with fully staffed and equipped laboratories to which doctors in outlying communities could send specimens by mail. Arrangements were also made for sending on especially difficult specimens to the New England Medical Center. Later small chemistry and blood laboratories, each manned by a technician, were installed in the outpost hospitals for local performance of routine blood tests and chemical analyses. Many of the community hospitals are now equipped for diagnosis of cancer in their own operating rooms by the recently developed frozen-tissue technique—a pathologist comes by appointment from the district hospital for this. The laboratory at Bangor analyzes mailed-in Papanicolau smears—for detection of cancer of the cervix or lungs. Thus the Bingham community hospitals enjoy a range of laboratory services comparable to those of well-equipped metropolitan hospitals. Cardiograms and X-ray plates made by the local doctor or hospital are mailed to the district hospital or the Boston center for interpretation or are studied by radiologists who divide their time among several outpost hospitals.

Besides such services the Bingham organization facilitates referrals for diagnosis. The patient may be sent for diagnosis from the local hospital to the district hospital and if necessary to the Pratt Diagnostic Hospital at the Boston center. The "Pratt" grew out of a proposal by Dr. Joseph H. Pratt, one of the initiators of the Bingham program. Ordinarily, when rural patients are referred to metropolitan centers, they go for both examination and treatment. This often involves severe personal and financial hardship for the patient and his family. Dr. Pratt suggested that patients be referred merely for diagnosis and that they return to their homes for treatment by local

physicians. Twenty beds were accordingly set aside in the Boston Dispensary, one of the New England Center hospitals, for diagnostic cases from the Rumford hospital. When the regional program got under way, patients were sent to the specially built ninety-bed Pratt for diagnosis. They are admitted only by referral and stay an average of no more than three days. The diagnosis and recommendations for treatment are sent to their own doctors. However, since facilities for treatment after diagnosis should be included in a regional-hospital plan, these will be provided at "the Pratt" when a new addition is completed.

An integral part of the Bingham organization's activities is an extensive educational program. As many people know, the medicine practiced in teaching hospitals is the finest to be found anywhere. The Bingham Fund has installed "teaching residents" in district hospitals and through them hopes to make such hospitals into secondary teaching centers and thus raise local medical standards. In addition, the Bingham organization conducts a full line of post-graduate courses at the New England Medical Center, with expense stipends for attending rural practitioners, and a famous every-other-Friday round of conferences on the visiting doctors' cases. In order to meet the shortage of laboratory workers, it sponsors three schools for training graduate medical technologists and one, the first of the kind in the United States, for "junior technologists," where high-school graduates are trained for the simple laboratories of the outpost hospitals. The Fund also furthers the training of nurse-anaesthetists and X-ray technicians.

It is, of course, impossible to measure the contribution of the Bingham program to the health of the area it serves. However, it has clearly given the residents of Maine and western Massachusetts more varied and better medical care and made the medical resources of Boston more easily available. This has been accomplished,

moreover, at a surprisingly small cost. By proceeding step by step and making such services as the laboratory self-supporting, the Fund has kept its expenditures under \$50,000 a year for each of the three hospital groups.

The Bingham plan is obviously not an answer to all the problems of rural health. Rural counties on the whole have only one-half to two-thirds as many doctors and fewer than half as many hospital beds per thousand of population as urban counties. Rural areas, moreover, have



a high incidence of food-, water-, and insect-borne diseases, like typhoid fever, brucellosis (undulant fever), and malaria, which may reflect impure water supply, poor sewage disposal, and other defects of the environment. Poor housing and in many parts of the country poor diet are equally important adverse influences. The elimination of these conditions is a separate and difficult undertaking. Nor does a regional-hospital plan touch upon the problem of payment for medical care, or the equally urgent question of whether the individual practicing physician can be advantageously replaced by the clinical group.

But however these problems may be worked out, specialists in rural medicine are agreed that some form of regional-hospital organization will always be needed to prevent the isolation of the rural physician and to furnish the small community with specialized services. Such regional systems are foreseen in the Hill-Burton act, which provides that federally aided hospitals be located with an eye to eventual regional integration, and are a feature of the Federal Security Administration's national health program. Actual establishment of a nation-wide network of integrated hospital systems ought to be undertaken without delay.

Soviet Music: the New Stage

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Prague, February

IN AN article in *Pravda* of January 4 Tikhon Khrennikov, secretary general of the Soviet Composers' Union, described the "new stage" of Soviet music. The Composers' Union had met in Moscow from December 21 to 29, and his article was a final report on what took place. About one hundred new compositions were performed, and many reviewers said that it was "too much to take in" and too soon "to give a considered judgment on these new works." But the officials of the Composers' Union, and especially Mr. Khrennikov, working in close contact with the Central Committee of the Communist Party, felt able to comment in detail on the progress made in Soviet music since the famous Zhdanov decree of February 10, 1948. This, it will be remembered, ruthlessly condemned the "formalism" of all Russia's leading composers, notably Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Khachaturian, and Miaskovsky. In consequence, the Composers' Union was completely reorganized, with "popular" musicians like Khrennikov given highest place.

A great deal of material about the December meeting has been published in Soviet papers and periodicals, but it is all extremely one-sided. Only speeches that closely followed the party line were reported at length; others were dismissed in a couple of sentences. The new works were played only before the assembly of composers; the present pundits of the union decided which should later be performed publicly.

It seems significant that of the works singled out for praise by Mr. Khrennikov the majority should be

by non-Russian composers. Among them were "The Fatherland Cantata" by Aratunian, an Armenian composer; a symphonic work by Amirov, an Azerbaijan composer; a "Stalin Cantata" by Wirka, an Estonian; another "Stalin Cantata" by Tallat-Kelpsha, a Lithuanian; a piano concerto by Gasanov, native of Daghestan; and a "Simfonietta" by the Jewish composer Weinberg. Of the great and world-famous Russian school of music there was apparently little to report. A few polite remarks were made about a new symphony by a young composer, V. Bunin, and about two or three other works, but none of the new leaders of the Composers' Union—Khrennikov and the rest—had apparently produced anything of the least importance.

As for the Big Four, who had been pilloried as "formalists" and even "anti-Soviet" in the Zhdanov decree, three of them were damned with faint praise. Khrennikov wrote:

The new works of the composers who were denounced by the Central Committee's decree as formalists naturally attracted special attention at the plenary meeting. The most successful works by these composers were Shostakovich's music for the film "The Young Guard" and a number of choral works by Muradeli. Extracts from Khachaturian's music for a new "Lenin" film, Miaskovsky's "Symphony on Russian Folk Themes," and Shebalin's Seventh Quartet show that these composers are trying to take the road of realism and are not altogether unsuccessful. But the plenary meeting nevertheless found that there were still some formalist elements in their work, and that their transformation was proceeding slowly.

Other leaders of the Composers' Union remarked that while these composers were now refraining from the "cruder manifestations of formalism," such as atonalism and cacophony, they were not yet "organically united with the ideals of Communist civilization."

ALEXANDER WERTH, formerly Moscow correspondent for *The Nation*, is now covering the other Eastern European countries. In a coming issue he will comment on contemporary Russian poetry and fiction.

If last year Shostakovich was the principal target of Zhdanov's sarcasm, Prokofiev was now singled out as surviving formalist number one. His opera, "The Story of a Real Man"—based on the life of a fighter pilot who after the loss of both his legs retrains himself to become a fighter pilot again—was dismissed by Khrennikov as "anti-melodious" and "modernist" and as "lacking in a real understanding of Soviet humanity and heroism." Since the general public will not be allowed to hear the opera, and its exportation is also forbidden, one has to take Khrennikov's word that it is no good. It is perhaps not without significance that while, in March, Shostakovich assumed a deeply apologetic attitude, Prokofiev accepted the decree with open reservations and made some sharp jibes at the "lowbrows." The future of this prodigious composer, who has had such a dazzling career, seems very dim today. He is fifty-eight years old and in poor health.

It is not known whether any of the "formalists" or "ex-formalists" said anything at the plenary meeting, or even whether they were there; no remarks of theirs were reported in the press. Despite all the speeches made last spring predicting a splendid new era of Soviet opera, there is no evidence that any opera except Prokofiev's was composed in the past year. However, Khrennikov and a few others are promising to complete some operas "shortly."

Altogether, the first year in which Soviet music was rigidly regimented by the Communist Party does not appear to have been extremely successful. Even the popular songs and military marches, it is said, were not up to standard.

Strange Accounting

BY RICHARD A. YAFFE

SUPPOSE you bought a refrigerator some time ago for \$150. The current price for the same refrigerator is \$200. You sell it for \$175. The question is: Should you deduct \$25 as a loss from your tax return, or should you add \$25 as a profit?

It's a fine question, and it isn't as silly as it sounds, for it is bothering some of our top fiscal experts. The discussion started with the recent publication of United States Steel's annual statement. Under the heading "Accelerated Depreciation" was an item that didn't get the headlines but that may prove extremely important if a benign Congress allows it to be applied to tax returns.

"Accelerated depreciation" means putting aside

RICHARD A. YAFFE was foreign editor of PM and its successor the New York Star.

enough money from current profits to provide for an increase in the cost of plant replacement. Let's say a plant cost \$1,000,000, and the owner is allowed to reckon its depreciation over ten years at \$100,000 a year. At the end of the tenth year he finds that the replacement value of his plant has gone up to \$2,000,000. Under the United States Steel formula, he has lost \$1,000,000 on his plant. In other words, the manufacturer could contend that he should have deducted twice as much every year for plant depreciation, and that he had overstated his profits during the previous ten years. Previously a manufacturer has derived his profits from the merchandise produced by his machines; now he wants to make a profit on his machines, too, and to have the consumer pay for their replacement.

This theory has already been put in practice in establishing rates for public utilities. Utility companies have argued successfully for higher rates before public-service commissions because the replacement value of their plants had gone up since the previous rates were fixed. Thus utility rates are frequently not determined by return on investment.

The manufacturer who follows the United States Steel formula will be demanding a guaranty that he will always be able to carry on his business without investing more money in it, and that he will always have the profit on his original investment. He will not guarantee, in return, that he will use the "accelerated depreciation" fund to replace his plant, to stay in business, or to return it in some manner, say as taxes, to the consumer from whom he extracted it. In short, the risk will be removed from risk capital.

If Congress allows this, it might follow that merchants would be allowed to base their profits on the replacement value of their merchandise—the hypothetical case of the refrigerator described in the first paragraph. Let's see how that would work: A merchant buys an article for \$10 and its replacement value is \$15. If he sells it for \$15, he makes no profit. If he sells it for \$14, he loses \$1. See?

Here's how his three-year profit-and-loss statement might look:

	Cost	Replacement Price	Selling Price	Profit (P) or Loss (L)
1st year	\$100,000.....	\$150,000	\$160,000	\$10,000 (P)
2d year	150,000.....	150,000	170,000	20,000 (P)
3d year	150,000.....	100,000	110,000	40,000 (L)

Three-year loss \$10,000

A quick glance at the figures will show that under the present system the manufacturer actually had a profit of \$40,000.

Carried to its logical—or illogical—conclusion, this theory would mean that no one would ever make a profit. No profits—no taxes. Utopia.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Small Useful Volumes

THE BRONTES. By Phyllis Bentley.
Alan Swallow. \$2.

SAMUEL BUTLER. By G. D. H. Cole.
Alan Swallow. \$2.

HENRY FIELDING. By Elizabeth Jenkins.
Alan Swallow. \$2.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. By Lettice Cooper.
Alan Swallow. \$2.

GEORGE ELIOT. By Joan Bennett.
The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THE GREAT TRADITION. By F. R. Leavis.
George W. Stewart. \$4.50.

SMALL useful volumes are habitually ranged with sturdy little men, gallant corporals, punctilious valets, and other articles of uninspired reliability. Such classification by size, of course, is one way that stupidity cheats thought by appealing to the obvious. And the genuine danger of the mental cliché is indicated by the new English Novelists Series. The books are certainly small, and decidedly useful. Each volume compresses an inclusive survey of the life and work of a major literary figure into one hundred clear and simple pages. But the clarity and simplicity are accompanied by serious reflection and skilful organization that exclude every suggestion of the cute miniature.

Of the first four volumes to appear, Lettice Cooper's "Robert Louis Stevenson" is the least satisfactory. Stevenson, of course, is an elusive figure. He did many different things in a remarkably short time. Moreover, the swinging cutlass and the buried treasure exert a direct appeal that resists expansion and analysis. As a result, Miss Cooper's book is episodic and without unity. Unity, however, is the main virtue of G. D. H. Cole's admirable study of Samuel Butler. Happily Mr. Cole has not restricted his book to "The Way of All Flesh," which he properly considers Butler's only novel. The inclusion of Butler's biological work yields the relevant generalization that, for Butler, fitness constituted a moral imperative as well as a test for survival. Man, accordingly, is responsible to life, which is God. Since Ernest Pontifex is no more fitted to be a clergyman than the Madeira beetle is

fitted to fly, to insist that either climb the heavens is to break a moral law, or, in the language of "Erewhon," to deal in false currency. Butler, Cole shows, is in all his work a hard-money man.

Henry Fielding is also a hard-money man, insisting on the deflation of affectation, but Elizabeth Jenkins's biography is more synoptic than synthetic. Her ten-page summary of "Tom Jones" is in itself a near miracle. And Miss Jenkins has wise things to say about story and plot, the comic spirit, and Fielding's own attractive personality. Yet surely the wisest of all four authors is Phyllis Bentley, who combines her own knowledge and love of Yorkshire with the important modern scholarship of Miss Ratchford to paint a convincing picture of the Brontë family among the moors. The portraiture and background are so well done that the subjects step out of the frame and, without straining our credulity, proceed to write "Jane Eyre" and "Wuthering Heights." Miss Bentley derives the mature thread from the web of childhood, and in tracing and unraveling the twisted strands she has done real service.

The same technique of deliberate reconstruction dominates Joan Bennett's critical biography of George Eliot. In the first half of her book Mrs. Bennett considers George Eliot's intellectual and emotional development up to her elopement with G. H. Lewes. Having established George Eliot's problem, the problem of making morality "logical as well as emotionally satisfying," Mrs. Bennett goes on to illustrate the working out of this controlling problem in all of George Eliot's fiction. This is not to say, however, that Mrs. Bennett's book is schematic. Throughout there is a wealth of insight and finish that will make it one of the finest books of the year. Curiously enough, as a matter of fact, after insisting at first on the intellectual content of George Eliot's novels, Mrs. Bennett later maintains that George Eliot's greatness consists in her dramatic talent, her ear for dialogue, and her warm and broad sympathy. The intellectual impulse, Mrs. Bennett feels, spoils "Romola" and "Daniel Deronda,"

because "pages of discourse cannot reveal personality as surely as does the dramatic method in convincing "dialogue." Perhaps, but certainly it is worth note that these pages of discourse embody a philosophy that is felicitously stated, apt not extraneous, light not ponderous, and inquisitive not didactic. In truth, these pages of discourse constitute one of George Eliot's most attractive qualities.

For a proper appreciation of George Eliot's brain we must turn to F. R. Leavis, who quotes voluminously from what he calls her "psychological commentaries." Mr. Leavis has been called an unattractive critic, and it is clear that he enjoys neither a polished style nor a serene soul. But Leavis is not simply nasty. Quite properly he suspects mere polish. Moreover, he thinks deeply, feels obliged to believe what he thinks, and does not care to be laughed out of

A SOUL

It is evening. One bat dances
Alone, where there were swallows.
The waterlilies are shadowed
With cattails, the cattails with willow.

The moon sets; after a little
The reeds sigh from the shore.
Then silence. There is a whisper,
"Thou art here once more."

In the castle someone is singing.
"Thou art warm and dry as the sun,"
You whisper, and laugh with joy.
"Yes, here is one,

"Here is the other . . . Legs . . .
And they move so?"
I stroke the scales of your breast, and
answer:
"Yes, as you know."

But you murmur, "How many years
Thou hast wandered there above!
Many times I had thought thee lost
Forever, my poor love.

"How many years, how many years
Thou hast wandered in air, thin air!
Many times I had thought thee lost,
My poor soul, forever."

RANDALL JARRELL

his opinions by the casual irresponsibility that passes for moderation, urbanity, and good fellowship. Mr. Leavis is tough and querulous because he wants to rouse his opponents out of a sleepy gentility that accepts everything and demands nothing. Accordingly, the only valid criticism of Mr. Leavis's attitude is that it ill serves his ends. His lack of polish often leads to a lack of clarity; his peevishness often antagonizes would-be friends. Surely Mr. Leavis can hit hard and still do right by the Marquis of Queensberry.

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Mr. Leavis's critical judgments are similar to his manners: brusque and direct, concerned mainly with the right and wrong of a thing, and not bothered by shades, tones, or mere conventions. In his latest book, "The Great Tradition," Mr. Leavis is concerned with the right and wrong of writing novels. The right belongs to George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad, and the Dickens of "Hard Times" because "they not only change the possibilities of the art for practitioners and readers but they are significant in terms of the human awareness they promote." That this approach is not devoid of merit is signaled by Mr. Leavis's recognition that George Eliot's philosophical discourses are something more than literary cadenzas. Leavis's contention that James's early novels are his finest also deserves applause. But the most resounding note in the book, the comparison of "Daniel Deronda" with "The Portrait of a Lady," rings false. Leavis argues that "The Portrait of a Lady" is "Daniel Deronda" without Zionism. Yet if Leavis is right, and it is surely doubtful, that Isabel Archer is Gwendolen Harleth, and that Osmond is Grandcourt, then Ralph Touchett must be Deronda. Accordingly, it becomes impossible to divide "Daniel Deronda," as Leavis does, and to declare that one half is a Zionist tract, and the other a good novel. "Daniel Deronda" is no more a thing of shreds and patches than the whole body of literature. To recognize the best in both is clearly a duty, but to discard a part in the interests of logical consistency is neither honest nor smart. Mr. Leavis in making his distinctions is pressing logic to the point of absurdity.

JOSEPH KRAFT

The Problem of Productivity FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Edited by Seymour E. Harris. Harvard University Press. \$6.

PROFESSOR HARRIS seems to have established a book manufactory at Harvard comparable in volume of production to that maintained at Oxford by Professor G. D. H. Cole. The content of the production is, of course, rather different. Professor Cole is hardly to be looked to for a volume entitled "Saving

Capitalism" (which has issued from the Harris Book Works since the book here under review was published). On the other hand, Professor Harris has yet to turn out any detective stories. But quantitatively the two professors seem likely, in due course, to make a photo finish, their partisans wildly cheering.

The present book is a symposium, a form Professor Harris much favors, to which twenty-four experts have contributed. As usual Professor Harris takes his duties as M. C. very seriously, this time with rather happier results than on other occasions. The book is perhaps the weightiest discussion of United States foreign economic policy to be found within a single set of covers. But in spite of the expectations aroused by the title, no clear-cut policy for the United States finally emerges. Instead, the international context of a policy is intensively, but not exhaustively, examined and some of the problems of policy are taken up for close inspection, notably international equilibrium.

In a broad view the problems all arise from the fact that the productive power of the United States is out of line with that of the rest of the world and particularly Europe. In a way this is lucky for the rest of the world, but not entirely so, especially in the long run. It is not exclusively a result of World War II, though the war has accentuated it markedly since it was so desperately destructive. The disparity goes back at least to circa 1900, probably earlier, for it is discussed in Shadwell's "Industrial Efficiency" (1906). At any rate it has become a commonplace to say that it antedates World War I. Europeans often work up considerable ill-suppressed resentment against the United States on this score, but that gets us nowhere, for it is a datum of world economic relations from which there is no easy or slick escape.

There are at least two lines of escape to which most of the writers in this book who refer to the problem subscribe. The first is to engineer a rise in productivity in Europe. The second is to arrange that a proportion of the fruits of that rise take the form of increased exports to the United States. Or, conversely, as the world is able to produce more for export than at present, the United States should arrange

its tariff policies to encourage imports.

It is within this framework that the E. C. A. must operate. If the Marshall Plan is to make final sense it must set the stage for a rise in European productivity beyond 1938 levels. But it still will not have succeeded unless the export goods thus made available find markets in the Western Hemisphere particularly.

Thus while we tend today to be pre-occupied with what is happening and hoped for in Europe, the other side of the medal must also be examined pretty carefully. It is well established that the volume of imports into the United States fluctuates with the volume of industrial production here. It will not be enough to adjust our policy to allow the receipt of more imports; it will also be vitally necessary to achieve stability of production at high levels. While this problem is not examined in this book, it is often referred to. It is on the minds of the economists all the time. That American productivity will rise is taken for granted as freely as the needed rise in European productivity is worried over, but stability of American production is not taken for granted. It is viewed with misgivings—hopeful misgivings at best.

It emerges from this book that both economists and political policy makers radically underestimated the extent of the destruction caused by World War II. That is why UNRRA has been succeeded, not by the International Bank and the Monetary Fund as the central international economic institutions, but by the E. C. A. But destruction is not the whole story. There is the role of bad policies in European economic life. It would be wrong to seize upon these as the exclusive cause of Europe's troubles, though it has been done; it would be equally wrong to wave them out of sight. And it must be candidly pointed out that some of them are policies immensely appealing to people of social-democratic outlook, if, indeed, they do not exist because of social-democratic political pressures. It would be a mistake for American social democrats to interpret all criticism of them as evidence of a "reactionary" frame of mind. From the essays printed here it is plain that only if E. C. A. succeeds will the Bank and the Monetary Fund take the center of the stage.

This is equivalent to saying that Professor Harris's collaborators are all partisans of the open economic universe these two institutions are designed to serve.

After Professor Harris's contributors have investigated all the ramifications of the problems touched on above, and others only vaguely suggested, a group of them settle down to a technical symposium of their own on Problems of International Equilibrium. If the reader can stand the high pressure of the atmosphere, even this section will yield him a profit.

This is a huge book, but it could have been longer still. For example, there is no chapter on the economic relations of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth-Empire. Africa figures only in its currently fashionable role as an adjunct of Europe. How Latin America fits in is not made too clear. And the Far East is totally neglected. Moreover, I think it would have been fairer to the economists of the United Kingdom if Tommy Balogh had been balanced by Harrod or Jewkes, Robbins or Henderson or A. J. Brown.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

The Early Roosevelt

F. D. R. HIS PERSONAL LETTERS. 1905-1928. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. Edited by Elliott Roosevelt. Assisted by James N. Rosenau. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$5.

ROBERT SHERWOOD has given us the unavoidable phrase—Franklin Roosevelt's "heavily forested interior." The reader of these letters would certainly conclude, were they the only evidence available, that the young man of 1905 or 1915 had no interior whatsoever. Were those dating before the ordeal of 1921—and many thereafter that resolutely maintain the same manner—the only surviving record, Franklin Roosevelt could be exhaustively summed up as consisting simply of wealth, social position, Groton, and Harvard. A nice boy, without doubt, but then there are thousands of nice boys.

Of course these letters are not the whole story, if only because most of them are addressed to his mother; they give indirect evidence of what has been suspected, that she required delicate

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FEAR, WAR, AND THE BOMB

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1948 Nobel Prize Winner

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handling. So the reader, let alone the historian, will need to interpret these letters with care.

But one point they do establish. Franklin Roosevelt grew up in a positively tribal environment. His was a public life from the beginning, an unrelieved gregariousness; he was constantly among people and their tensions. Within the family problems came to him never as abstract propositions or moral issues but as problems incarnated in people. The way to cope with problems therefore became immediately evident to him: handle the people. His method of solving difficulty became one of smoothing ruffled feelings, conciliating spats, devising accommodations, or, if necessary, keeping irreconcilables apart. Given the conditions of his training, his mentality would assume thenceforth, as its major premise, that tact in dealing with personalities can solve anything. Inevitably he would extend the technique to economic or social crises, and would conceive of them in terms not of ideas but of the individuals who concretely embodied them before him. He was truly at home in politics—it meant just more people.

The young Roosevelt had great charm, but he also shows in the earlier of these letters a habit of mind that was reflected in the exterior Miss Perkins

has described, with his appearance of looking down his nose at most people. But it would need only a severe chastening of that arrogance to leave an organism superbly equipped in the management of mankind, skilled in playing off one against another, in using them, in seeing through them. If he could but be taught to utilize this skill not merely in keeping the peace in the vast Roosevelt connection, or not merely for self-aggrandizement, he could be made capable of the largest-scale manipulation of people in modern history.

The letters are not useful for the outward record of Roosevelt's career between 1905 and 1928, and at first sight seem largely made up of chitchat. But Miss Perkins assures us that he was a complicated human being, and with so intricate a phenomenon, the slightest manifestations may prove the most significant. The exhibition of certain traits here provided on the domestic scale may offer, if the analyst is sufficiently perceptive, the key to traits that were later dramatized on the spectacular level. But in any event the whole story is an object lesson of how history, out of what one might suppose highly unpromising material, can forge a great charismatic being. PERRY MILLER

tution. The maintenance and administration of many mental institutions seem to proceed on the theory that their sole function is to sequester dangerous or annoying persons.

This, of course, is not satisfactory to the medical staffs in any of the hospitals. Usually they are forced against their will to conform to the "asylum keeper" pattern because overcrowding and understaffing of hospitals leave each doctor with so many patients to care for that he has time only for the barest custodial functions. State legislatures have been notoriously penurious with mental hospitals, and when they do consider them, they are likely to be mainly preoccupied with the things that can be seen from the roadway, like concrete and brick, rather than with adequate and qualified staffs, therapeutic facilities, and good food.

Albert Deutsch has visited a representative group of state mental institutions and has given us here a factual report on the conditions he found. In most cases he had the full cooperation of the superintendents, who felt that wider publication of the shameful truth was the only way to make legislatures conscious of the need for larger appropriations. But Deutsch's intimate knowledge of the field made it possible for him, with or without cooperation, to seek out the strength and weakness of each institution in short order. His survey is accompanied by remarkable photographs depicting the treatment of inmates at each hospital.

In the Philadelphia State Hospital for Mental Diseases, for example, Deutsch found 6,100 patients crowded into space meant for 3,400. There are only forty-one nurses and fourteen physicians on the pay roll. The dining-rooms are filthy, the food is cold and unappetizing, and some patients must eat with their hands unless they have their own spoons. Teen agers are thrown, together with adults in all stages of deterioration. "I was reminded of pictures of Nazi concentration camps," says Deutsch. "I entered buildings swarming with naked human beings herded like cattle and treated with less concern, pervaded by a fetid odor so heavy, so nauseating, that the stench seemed to have almost a physical existence of its own." Many of the attendants are vagrants recruited directly

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How We Treat the Insane

THE SHAME OF THE STATES. By Albert Deutsch. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

THE gap between professional knowledge and popular misconception is nowhere as wide as it is in the field of mental diseases. Advances in psychological research are avidly absorbed by a growing minority which includes physicians and cultivated readers and theatergoers, but the vast majority, including most members of state legislatures, seem still to cling to the eighteenth-century idea that insanity is an incurable taint which deprives its victims of humanity and renders them not only insensible to pain, privation, or humiliation but also impervious to the annoyance of such restraints as straps, bars, and strait-jackets.

The law frequently reflects this attitude. Two states require a patient to undergo a jury trial for "insanity" before he is committed to a state insti-

from the police station, where they were given the choice between a jail sentence and a job in the asylum. These conditions were duplicated in hospital after hospital, although Mr. Deutsch does take obvious pleasure in pointing out a few exceptional institutions which are doing first-rate work.

Evils like these have been reported before. But since 1887, when Nellie Bly wrote "Ten Days in a Madhouse" for the *New York World*, reporters have always blamed everything on a sadistic warden or some other convenient scapegoat. Mr. Deutsch makes it clear that the blame for the sorry plight of mental patients in the United States rests with us, the easygoing, well-intentioned citizens who allow state legislatures to neglect these unfortunates, and he earnestly tries to enlist us in a crusade for better hospitals. It is to be hoped that "The Shame of the States" will be as effective as were his earlier reports on veterans' hospitals.

JEROME H. SPINGARN

Books in Brief

THE MAJOR FOREIGN POWERS. By John C. Ranney and Gwendolen M. Carter. Harcourt, Brace. \$7.50. A thousand-page comparative study of Great Britain, France, China, and Russia. The authors analyze the political philosophies, government organizations, techniques of administration, etc., of each country and compare them with those of the United States. Vastly informative but essentially a book for reference and for classroom study rather than for reading, with the emphasis, as is inevitable, rather on the outward forms than on the living realities.

SATYAGRAHA: THE POWER OF TRUTH. By R. R. Diwakar. Henry Regnery. \$2. A study of the basis or essence of Gandhi's teachings. Satyagraha means literally adherence to the truth, or, as Gandhi expressed it, the spiritual force that accrues to one from a living faith in God. Truth is the end; love, or non-violence, the means. How and why this doctrine as conceived and applied by Gandhi helped to free India, and how we of the West can profit by it, is the subject of this lucid and interesting book.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IT HAS been a good many years since any serious play has provoked enthusiasm as unqualified and as nearly universal as that which greeted Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman" (Morosco Theater). That it is powerful, veracious, and theatrically effective can hardly be denied; but perhaps a reviewer who has the privilege of making a delayed report may be forgiven if he undertakes to suggest that, like every work of art, it is good only in its own particular way and that there are virtues which it does not exhibit.

The action recounts the last few days in the life of a traveling salesman who has outlived his usefulness and is discharged by the firm for which he has worked all his life. Behind him lie the memories of a drab and unsuccessful existence which was sustained by a shabby illusion of his own importance and by a belief in what I suppose it would now be fashionable to call his "myth"—that is to say, in a philosophy of life which assumes that "self-confidence" and "influence" are the instruments and "being well liked" the outward sign of success. His wife is exhausted by years of attempting to meet instalment payments, and his two sons, whom he has encouraged to believe that importance on the high-school football team will open all doors, are flashy fakers. Now that he can no longer believe that he has "influence" or that he is "well liked," nothing lies before him except confession of failure. He chooses therefore to commit suicide in order that the wife may at least have his insurance money to live on.

This being 1949, one naturally assumes that such a story is most likely to be told in order to expose the evils of our social system. No doubt in some very general way "The Death of a Salesman" may be taken to do just that. But I was unable to perceive anything in the slightest degree doctrinaire, and at least as much stress seems to be laid on the intellectual and moral weakness of the central character as upon any outward necessity determining his fate. The moral can be taken to be merely "Know Thyself," since the only positive

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suggestion seems to be that the hero would have been a good deal better off if he had realized that what he calls "success" is not for such as he and that he could have been humbly happy cultivating the soil or working with a carpenter's tools—two things he actually enjoys doing. Like the central character in "The Ice Man Cometh" Mr. Miller's salesman dies when he loses his illusions, but "Death of a Salesman" is without the mystical suggestions of O'Neill's play and is actually in theme and effect a good deal closer to Elmer Rice's "The Adding Machine," which, indeed, it seems to me to resemble more closely than has so far been recognized.

Like "The Adding Machine" it has as hero a Mr. Zero, and it employs non-representational techniques. Thus the admirable set designed by Jo Mielziner is multiple like the same designer's set for "Summer and Smoke," and the action involves many flash-backs presented as recalled in the memory of the principal personage. But—still more consistently than in "The Adding Machine"—the material is strictly naturalistic, and it is this fact which limits its effect upon this one spectator at least. All the action and all the characterizations are recognizably true to life, but almost every feature of either is both familiar and without other than literal meaning. To me there is about the whole something prosy and pedestrian; a notable absence of new insight, fresh imagination, or individual sensibility. The dialogue serves its purpose as well as the dialogue of a Dreiser novel, but it is also almost as undistinguished, as

unpoetic, as unmemorable, and as unquotable. Among the performances that of Mildred Dunnock seems to me the best, while that of Lee Cobb, though hailed with unbounded enthusiasm by the audience, struck me as being—necessarily perhaps—as convincing but also as heavy-footed as the dialogue itself.

Since Tennessee Williams is the only other recently emerged playwright who has awakened even remotely similar enthusiasm, certain comparisons will inevitably be made between them. Against Williams it will be said that he is eccentric and neurotic and that he has so far dealt exclusively with abnormal people, whereas "Death of a Salesman" involves characters and situations true to life as everyone has observed it and presented with an objectivity which everyone can recognize. But to me it seems equally evident that in Mr. Williams's work there are unique qualities which are absent from Mr. Miller's earlier "All My Sons" and from his present play, both of which, by the way, turn so closely around a father-son relationship as to permit almost as strongly as in the case of the Williams plays the objection that the author is obsessed with one theme. Almost hysterical though "A Streetcar Named Desire" may sometimes seem, it offers moments of new insight, and it reveals, as "Death of a Salesman" does not, a unique sensibility as well as a gift for language, sometimes misused and precious, but increasingly effective as it is increasingly purified. That Mr. Miller's new play is extremely good in its own way I have already said, and that it

will appeal to an even larger audience than was attracted to either "A Streetcar" or "Summer and Smoke" seems probable. But to me at least it seems, nevertheless, relatively old-fashioned.

Art

CLEMENT
GREENBERG

THE supremacy of Matisse among living painters is a consolation, but it also offers a peculiar problem. Picasso and Braque painted in the decade 1909-1920 what I think are by and large the most important pictures so far of our century. Yet neither appears to be the complete painter by instinct or accomplishment that Matisse is—the brush-wielder and paint-manipulator *par excellence*, the quiet, deliberate, self-assured master who can no more help painting well than breathing. Matisse may at times execute superficial work, he may do so for years, but he will never lack sensuous certainty. I do not think we can say the same of Picasso or Braque. Picasso, the very type of genius in the twentieth century, paints, if anything, less well than Braque while yet twice the artist. This paradox, like that of Matisse's preeminence, only the future, I feel, will be able to resolve.

It is held by some people of informed taste in modern art that Matisse's contribution was exhausted by at least 1920 (see George L. K. Morris in *Partisan Review* for June, 1948). Though I could not agree that exhaustion was the term to apply to an artist capable of the still lifes Matisse turned out in the twenties, it did seem until recently that his ambition had slackened in the last three decades and that, if he still handled paint as paint better than Picasso did, his art had become far less relevant than Picasso's, or even than Miró's, to the highest aims of painting. However genuine the pleasure received from Matisse's later canvases, it had to be conceded that this pleasure had begun to thin out and that the emotion which had moved us in his masterpieces of the years before 1920 was being replaced by virtuosity. Yet it was always to be expected that some glorious final statement, such as those Titian, Renoir, Beethoven, Milton had issued, would come from him—all the

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more in so far as his art, pre-cubist in essence if not in inflection, seemed less involved in the crisis that had overtaken post-cubism in the early thirties and better able, precisely because of its greater conservatism, to produce a second flowering.

This expectation has not been disappointed. The examples of Matisse's latest work shown at the comprehensive Philadelphia Museum exhibition last spring were, as we now see, shockingly unrepresentative, or at least they revealed very little of what the artist was about to do. The present show at Pierre Matisse's (through February) of paintings done in 1947 and 1948 and of drawings and paper cut-outs done since 1945 offers a most effective refutation of those who may still doubt that Matisse is the greatest living painter.

Let us not speak of color at first. One does best to begin with the drawings, large affairs executed with brush and black ink (and, I am told, with the paper flat on the floor). I have never before particularly admired Matisse in black and white, but these drawings, which are so tightly packed into their vertical rectangles and have learned so much from cubism, justify everything that has been said in praise of the master's draftsmanship in the past. Matisse was always capable of monumentality, but this is the first time I have seen it in his drawings.

In my opinion the highest praise an artist can be given is to say that, even when many of his individual works are not completely achieved in their own terms, their general, "floating" quality is so strong and ample that it serves to move the spectator as effectively as only the masterpieces of other artists can do. This was true of Cézanne's painting toward the end of his life, and it now seems true of Matisse's. The best picture on hand, and the only one felt through as completely in design as in color, is the "Large Interior in Red" of 1948—a masterpiece, incidentally, that demonstrates once more how much greater Matisse's chances of complete success are when he stays away from the human figure. There is no other single thing in the exhibition to equal this item; yet were it omitted, the exhibition would still make its point, namely, that Matisse is at the present moment painting as well as he ever has

painted before, and, in some respects perhaps, even better.

The art public is aware of the importance of Matisse's color, but I think a little too much has been said about his reliance in the use of it upon the decorative precedents furnished by Near Eastern art. It is true that from time to time he has built pictures by "spotting" the color all over the picture surface, as in a Persian miniature, so that color takes charge of design and design itself inheres in rhythm and repetition rather than in architectonic structure. And it is also true that the paper cut-outs in the present show depend too much on the sheer quality of color and have an elemental and static simplicity of design that makes them pieces of decoration rather than pictures. But in Matisse's most important works of the past—those larger canvases painted between 1911 and 1918—and now in these of 1947 and 1948, he puts his picture together in accordance with the implicit rules of easel painting and arrives at a massive simplicity that pertains more to the Italian Renaissance and classical antiquity than to the Orient. In the "Large Interior in Red" a few rather simple rectangular forms are played against a few somewhat more complicated ovals, all these imbedded in an intensely red background that swallows both floor and wall in the same abstract space. Though this red background is the most emphatic feature of the picture, the picture itself remains easel painting in the fullest sense, and anyone who in the face of it still talks about Matisse's "Oriental decorativeness" as if that were the most important thing to say about his art is a victim of journalism.

One is naturally surprised and pleased to see that a man of eighty can still turn out such great and vigorous art. But I have been even more surprised, at various times in the past, to discover Matisse's variety: surprised, for instance, to discover that by 1910 he had made himself one of the best landscapists in the history of painting—and done this, so to speak, almost incidentally, while seeming to be preoccupied with other things.

We complain—and with a good deal of reason—about the age we live in, but I feel that we ought also to rejoice occasionally that we live in the same

one as Matisse, and that we have been able, as his contemporaries, to watch his development on the spot. The old masters still give an American who has not had much chance to visit the museums of Europe some wonderful surprises, but I have had none superior to that provided by this first glimpse, in New York, of Matisse's latest work.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN THE performance of "Ode" with which Stravinsky began his Wednesday night concert with the Boston Symphony in New York there was first of all the sheer delight of the orchestra's refined sonority and sensitive execution, then the surprise of finding that the piece, which had sounded unpleasant to me a few years before, now was quite engaging. It was also interesting to observe the effectiveness of Stravinsky's sharply decisive conducting technique in the precision of the graceful performance. But that technique proved less effective in a performance of the Piano Concerto—with Soulima Stravinsky as soloist—that was not only cautiously labored but at times shockingly ragged; and this may be why I found the work unattractive again. Better done were the charming Concerto in D for strings, and the entire superb score for the ballet "Orpheus"—all of it interesting to one who, like myself, could recall the stage action, but some of it apparently boring to others in the audience who could not.

I now enjoy works of Stravinsky that I used to dislike; but no such change has occurred in the case of Hindemith's song-cycle "Das Marienleben": in the

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revised version presented at a New Friends of Music concert I heard again a monotonous vocal style that was made unpleasant by the harmonic idiom of

the piano part, and could only deplore the waste of the beautiful voice and art of Jennie Tourel and the unusually good playing of Erich Itor Kahn. So with

Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire," which the New Friends gave at another concert (I had to hear it on the radio, and heard a recording which, because of "technical difficulties," was substituted for the performance from Town Hall.) As before, I could not be unaware of the powers that had contrived what the *Sprechstimme* chanted to the words about the moon shining and what the instruments did—but also that what they had contrived was music expressively suitable for something like the scene of Ophelia's madness, but for nothing else I could think of.

What I had expected would be a superlatively fine ensemble performance of Mozart's Divertimento K.563 by the Pasquier Trio, at still another New Friends concert, turned out to be an incredibly bad one, with affected hesitations in pace and strained inflections of phrase adding up to a complete lack of spontaneity and elegance. But it was preceded by Szigeti's superb performance of Bach's E major Sonata for unaccompanied violin, whose Prelude makes it one of the outstanding members of the series. The other is the D minor, with the great Chaconne, which Alexander Schneider played at the Y. M. H. A. with marvelous feeling for contour and continuity of phrase and structure. His performances of others in the series demonstrated again that he is a first-rate violinist and musician and the works are mostly straw.

Made curious by the sensational press reports of his debut last year, I went to young Ervin Laszlo's recent piano recital; and what I heard gave me the impression of an unusual ability to play in the styles of the older pianists he has heard, and to do this very plausibly much of the time—but not all the time: not, for example, at big moments, where bigness was pushed to noisily inaccurate banging. And equally bad were all the tricky businesses in the Chopin G flat major Waltz that led me to suspect he was operating on his own. I would say he is far from ready for public performance.

Matured mastery of piano and music, on the other hand, was displayed by Webster Aitken in his performances of Beethoven's Bagatelles Opus 126, Copland's Variations, and Beethoven's "Diabelli" Variations at the Frick Collection. But that is an old story.

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Letters to the Editors

Mr. Ickes's . . .

Dear Sirs: In your issue of January 29 you carry an article by Mr. Richard L. Neuberger, entitled *Daring Young Man from the West*, in which he says, "Adverse propaganda against regional authorities began to be issued during Harold Ickes's regime and has never been fully shut off." This is no more true than some other statements that I have read under the by-line of the ubiquitous Mr. Neuberger. And as seems to be customary these days in a large segment of journalism, no attempt was apparently made by the gentleman to ascertain my views before slurring me with the insidious word "propaganda." As I understand the use of this word, at least currently, it is the "dissemination of ideas, information, gossip, or the like, for the purpose of injuring a person, an institution, a cause." Certainly, Mr. Neuberger does not use the word in connection with my supposed opposition to regional authorities in a helpful way.

If Mr. Neuberger had been a seeker after the truth, he would have had no difficulty in discovering that I have been on record many times in favor of regional authorities, including those for the Columbia River Valley and the Missouri River Valley. My position has been deliberately misrepresented, as I believe the case to be in this instance, because, while I believe in regional authorities, I also believe in the competent administration of those authorities, which to me means an able administrator and not a debating society. I am sure that there can be an honest difference of opinion on this one issue, but apparently not so far as Mr. Neuberger is concerned.

Years ago I testified before the Commerce Committee of the Senate in favor of a Columbia River Valley Authority, which I am convinced would have become law long ago if Senator Bone, of Washington, had told Senator McNary to go ahead without waiting for him (Senator Bone) to be discharged from the hospital, where he spent many months recovering from a severe and debilitating illness. In a recent speech during the campaign, at Great Falls, Montana, I supported the principle of a Missouri River Valley Authority. If anyone in this country, generally speak-

ing, has done more, of course under the inspiring leadership of the late President Roosevelt, to develop irrigation and public power in the West than I, I would like Mr. Neuberger to tell me who it is.

HAROLD L. ICKES
Washington, February 20

. . . Low Threshold

Dear Sirs: For one who dishes out criticism so promiscuously himself, our ex-Secretary of the Interior has a low threshold of pain when the criticism goes in the opposite direction.

Mr. Ickes says he long favored "regional authorities." If by "regional authorities" he means a bureau of the Interior Department, then he is right and I am wrong.

In 1938 I covered a much-heralded speech which Secretary Ickes made at Tacoma, Senator Bone's home town, ridiculing the Senator's bill for a Columbia Valley Authority patterned after TVA. Mr. Ickes favored a "regional authority" all right—a "regional authority" under his own jurisdiction in Interior. To people who admired TVA, this was no regional authority at all.

In 1942 Senator George W. Norris told me at length of the efforts of Secretary Ickes to have the independent status of TVA ended, so that TVA could be brought within the Interior Department.

Only recently I referred to Mr. Ickes as one of our two greatest Interior Secretaries. I did this in spite of his long opposition to independent regional authorities modeled after the TVA.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
Salem, Ore., February 24

Pushing Back the Walls of Inevitability

Dear Sirs: In my review of Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan's "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry," which appeared in your issue of January 15, I had two purposes. I wanted, first, to call attention to Dr. Sullivan's richly significant work, which has been curiously neglected not only by laymen but by many psychiatrists and psychologists interested in personality. And, second, I wanted to point out a tendency toward polarization of emphasis between psychologists—including psy-

chiatrists—and cultural anthropologists, on the one hand, and many left-wing economists and political scientists, on the other, which I believe seriously impairs the usefulness of both schools of thought.

In regard to the first, I am glad, particularly in view of the tragic loss of Dr. Sullivan's death, that this article has had some small part in giving Dr. Sullivan's writings a wider audience. The most frequent response I have had to the review was the expressed intention to read the book by persons who had previously known of Dr. Sullivan only vaguely or not at all.

My second aim raises more questions. Readers of Dr. Sullivan's books and articles can judge for themselves whether my interpretation is in particular instances correct. The more important question relates to the serious implications of much contemporary work in psychology and psychiatry in its concentration on individual mental health as the sole road to social betterment, at the expense of adequate recognition of needed changes in economic and political institutions. This emphasis, however good its intention, lends support to social quiescence or reaction, and encourages the equally unfortunate neglect of relevant psychological data on the part of some left-wing social scientists.

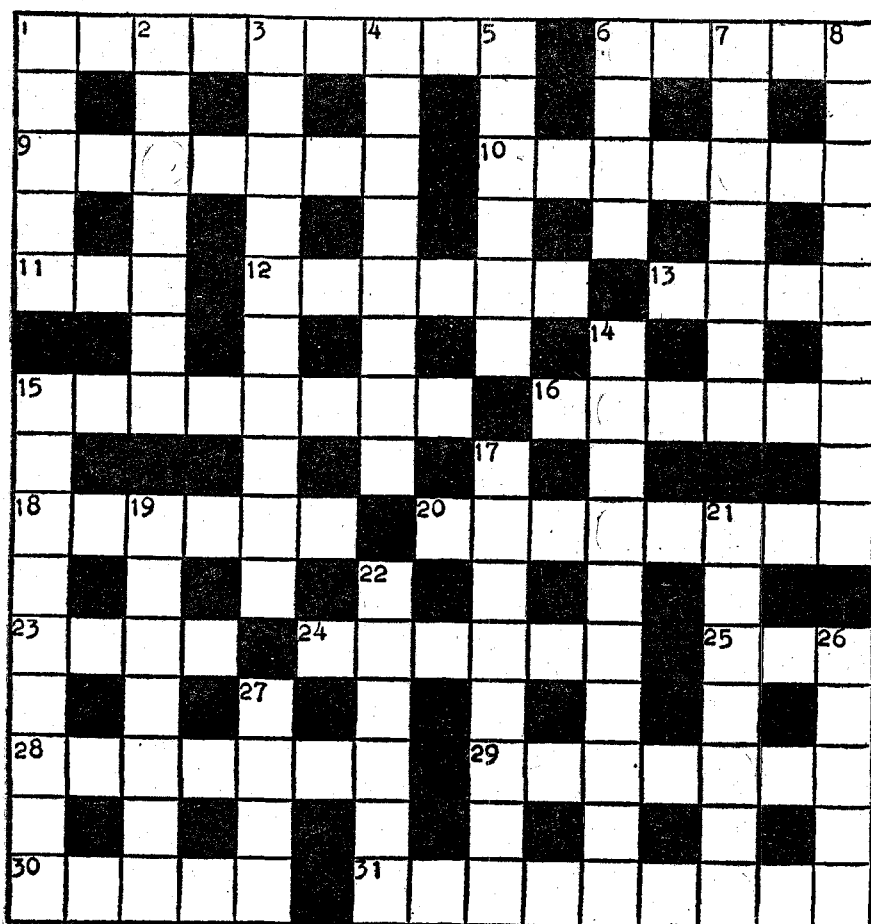
The letters (in *The Nation*, February 12) taking issue with my position do not convince me that this tendency does not exist in psychology or is not important.

The long footnote quoted in full in Mr. Geertz's letter, and referred to by Miss Blitsten to prove—if I read it correctly—that Dr. Sullivan was in the best sense a liberal and not "opposed to fundamental changes" in the pattern of American society, is one of the passages I have pondered most in trying to understand Dr. Sullivan's intention. Much, of course, depends on the exact meaning given to "liberal," "radical," "utopian," and "reactionary." Dr. Sullivan distinguishes the liberal, of whom he approves, both from the "reactionary 'conservative'" and from the person ". . . sufficiently disturbed in his interpersonal relations to yearn for a radical utopian solution . . . on the far side of chaos." He says, "I feel particularly hostile to those

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Crossword Puzzle No. 303

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The balance of earning power. (4,5)
 6 Stunt, at the circus perhaps. (5)
 9 Red root? (7)
 10 Mr. Botts' was an Earthworm. (7)
 11 Seldom quick when under this. (3)
 12 Nullify. (6)
 13 The charges of 24 were. (4)
 15 You'll find her in pants here. (8)
 16 Has sat on top of the range. (6)
 18 Mental confusion. (6)
 20 What a day-dreaming movie fan likes to do. (8)
 23 Not a yarn to be unraveled. (4)
 24 A crook helped her keep things together. (2-4)
 25 Propeller. (3)
 28 Caesar sounds like a good description of him. (7)
 29 What Gable should have left in cement at Graumann's. (7)
 30 Retreats. (5)
 31 A good place to 20 across. (9)

DOWN

- 1 Worthless poet. (5)
 2 \$10,000,000 purchase. (7)
 3 Not new on 6 down? (6-4)
 4 Piers Plowman was one. (8)
 5 See 22.
 6 Face down, so obviously laid up. (4)

- 7 These are louder than 1 down. (7)
 8 A good way to make the fire start. (5-4)
 14 The one that makes a crowd? (5,5)
 15. Street litter? (9)
 17 Descriptive of Wordsworth's minstrel. (8)
 19 Don who is just under a Duke. (7)
 21 By another name it sounds like a couple of reptiles. (7)
 22 and 5. Inheritance of scribblers? (6,6)
 26 Mr. Duck is confused. (5)
 27 It's really work to stir soup! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 302

ACROSS:—1 FEMININE ENDING; 9 OBLIGES; 10 IMPROVE; 11 SISKIN; 12 CHESHIRE; 14 PREVAIL; 15 BAHIA; 17 and 23 FIRST PERSON; 19 SQUELCH; 21 RATISBON; 25 ANATOLE; 26 TRIPOLI; 27 BLOCK AND TACKLE.

DOWN:—1. FOODSTUFF; 2 MILKSOP; 3 NEGLIGENCE; 4 NAST; 5 EPITHELIUM; 6 DUPES; 7 NEOLITH; 8 HEBE; 13 CASIOPEIA; 15 BALLERINA; 16 ARGENTINE; 18 RAT-TAIL; 20 HASSOCK; 21 ROAD; 22 STOIC; 24 STUD.

among us who are incapable of appreciating our *traditional, almost accidental* way of progress, who prefer instead to place confidence in the omniscience of a dictator" (*italics mine*). From this, taken with the rest of his discussion, I conclude that Dr. Sullivan holds that the only alternative to reliance on accident is reliance on dictatorship; that it is impossible or unnecessary to analyze, plan, and work for basic changes in our institutional pattern of life; and that he is inclined to classify those who do think such analysis and planning desirable as "utopian" or "neurotic."

In using Stephen Spender's phrase "forward from liberalism" I implied what I believe to be true: that twentieth-century liberalism, in order to work toward the aims which it shares with nineteenth-century liberalism, must go beyond nineteenth-century reliance on casualness and accident in institutional change. Nineteenth-century liberalism centered its efforts on freedom from tyranny and restraint; twentieth-century liberalism must go on to achieve freedom in terms of a constructive institutional basis for human values. In the last hundred years we have, in one field after another, gone from the concept of accidental progress taking place under a laissez faire freedom from restraint to analysis of causal sequences in human affairs. We no longer say that it is an "accident" if three-quarters of the children born in London die before reaching the age of five, as was the case before 1750; we drain swamp areas to eradicate centers of chronic disease. In the field of psychiatry itself we no longer attribute mental disease to accident or the devil but study the factors leading to neurosis. On the level of economic and political institutions some beginning has been made in laying a scientific foundation which will enable men to make their institutions rather than to submit or "adapt" to the grim limits of the world regarded as inevitable by the classical economists. Why, then, should we rely in the areas of economics and politics on accident and tradition, and regard dictatorship as the only other course, rather than apply to these institutions as forthright questioning and planning as the psychiatrists themselves use in the fields of child-rearing and mental health? Dictatorship is more likely to result from a policy of accident and drift than from analysis and planning for a more adequate achievement of democratic values.

As Mr. Jefferson pointed out in his letter, it is only a super-healthy person

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who can "write his own ticket in our society," and instead of relying wholly on achievement of individual health, we might have some basis for reversing the old axiom to say that "only when all the members of a society are secure can the individual be really secure." In our economy, with its recurrent depressions and anxious competition for jobs, emotional stability is no more assurance of a living wage than skill and intelligence are guaranties of permanent employment. Health through psychiatric aid certainly helps particular individuals in particular situations, but with nearly a third of the families in the United States even under present conditions having annual incomes of less than \$2,000 a year, can we ascribe low wages to emotional maladjustment, or rely on accident for improvement of economic conditions?

History may be viewed as a process of pushing back walls of inevitability, of turning what have been thought to be inescapable limitations into human possibilities. The "utopianism" of one era is often the basic human decency of the next. One of the main problems that any sensitive human being has within himself is to know when his "utopianism" is productive thinking and when it is "escape" from what actually are inevitable limitations. There is, also, the corresponding social problem of distinguishing desirable and possible social goals from impossible "utopias." Further, I cannot discover any reading of history which offers a guaranty that it is never necessary to go through to "the far side of chaos" in order to reach a more humane society.

HELEN MERRELL LYND
New York, February 16

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The body reached Murchison's ahead of them and they found it stretched out naked on the mortuary table. The arms were folded over the pendulous breasts. The lid of one eye had rolled back, giving a grotesque and frightful expression to the waxen, light-bathed face.

"Fix that eye, Murchison," Guy said irritably. Press it down—moisten some cotton—press the lid down."

Now the face was natural again; it could be seen quietly smiling, the same long-lipped half-smile that Roger remembered. The overhead light was beating down. A ventilator fan was whirring. The table was porcelain and steel with a slope and a drain; at the top was a hose connection.

The surgeons regarded the preparations with a professional eye. There remained no faintest glimmer in Roger's mind of the woman this cadaver had been; he was filled instead with controlled excitement and some curiosity at the new operative technique impending.

"Rigor mortis is pretty well set in," observed Murchison.

Roger nodded. Both doctors took for granted that rigor mortis, usually starting within an hour and a half or two hours after death, would be well advanced. They set to work with single-minded concentration, removing their coats and vests, rolling up their sleeves and donning white gowns furnished them by the undertaker. Guy, being the authority on the "Egyptian" technique, was to perform the actual operation with Roger assisting him. The settling of blood gave the thighs a reddish-blue tinge on their under sides; prying them apart proved to be a formidable task. The two doctors hauled like sailors at a capstan bar on the stiff, cold flesh until Guy could make his way between the thighs and keep one angling out by the pressure of his shoulder, while Roger firmly gripped the other.

The first cut inside the body brought no flow but there was a yellowish, bloody exudation with an foul stench, the tenfold concentration of the putrefa

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Resolutely Eleanor put the thought of the troublesome symptoms aside and concentrated on enjoying the balance of her stay in New York. She threw herself into the whirl of having a good time as if each show or concert or shopping expedition were going to be her last.

She met a lot of charming people, all connected in some way with Albert's multifarious business interests. There was a steel executive and his wife from Pittsburgh, a Republican congressman from the middle west, a Wall Street banker and a host of other people, all more or less successful and scintillating.

Then there was a Mr. Schmidt, a German-American from Rochester who was connected with the Bausch and Lomb Optical Co. Albert spent the best part of two whole days closeted with him in their hotel sitting room and although she wasn't much interested, she gathered from the scraps of conversation that she overheard between them that Albert was trying to secure the Canadian agency for the Bausch and Lomb products, which was shortly coming up for renewal.

Mr. Schmidt was a heavy-jawed man with greying, thinning hair and a ponderous cast of features. He was a Princeton graduate and the only thing German about him

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